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French Publications of
the Declaration of Independence and
the American Constitutions,
1776-1783

By DURAND ECHEVERRIA*

THOMAS Paine once called the American constitutions the grammar of French liberty.¹ The phrase was apt. The American forms of government, though they failed to exert an extensive or enduring influence on French constitutional history, were a text of reference opened and placed before the eyes of the revolutionaries of 1789 as they undertook the herculean task of recasting the political and social structure of France. The influence of American models on the framers of the first French constitutions is well known,² but the impact of the

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¹ *The Rights of Man, Part I. Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York, 1945), I, 300.

² See Gilbert Chinard, *La Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen et ses antécédents américains* (Washington, 1945); and Lucy M. Gidney, *L'Influence des Etats-Unis d'Amérique sur Brissot, Condorcet et Mme Roland* (Paris, 1930).

United States on revolutionary France went far deeper than mere formal imitation. The Americans had established the precedent of constitutionalism, the right of a free people to define their own inalienable rights and to establish a new form of government under reason and justice.

The publication in France of the American Federal Constitution of 1787 came only on the threshold of the French Revolution. The truly educative influence of American constitutionalism during the years leading to the Revolution was exerted not by this final document but by the first frameworks of self-government which Americans erected, that is, by the various state constitutions and bills of rights, the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, the writings of Thomas Paine and John Dickinson, and the various other political documents produced by the struggle for independence. It was these which composed that grammar which became a basic textbook for the reformers of 1789.

The French publication of the several chapters of this "grammar" was accomplished over a period of more than twenty years and under a variety of forms. The very number and diffusion of the printed translations of American political papers are in themselves indications of their influence.

In a sense the story begins in March 1684, when a Quaker named Benjamin Furly living in Amsterdam published a French tract promising "aux pauvres François Protestans" that in Pennsylvania they could enjoy the right to tax themselves under a representative government elected by secret ballot and that there "chascun puisse jouir de la Liberté de conscience qui est un droit naturel qui appartient à tous les hommes."⁸ More immediately, the entry of American political thought into France came with the translation of Franklin's testimony before Parliament in 1766 (of which no less than five separate French publications were made), in which Franklin boldly affirmed, in the words of his

⁸ *Recueil de diverses pièces, concernant la Pensylvanie* (La Haye, 1684), pp. 33, 43-45.

French translator, "Nulle puissance, si grande qu'elle soit, ne saurait forcer des hommes à changer d'opinion."⁴ In 1769 Barbeu Dubourg, a devoted admirer of Franklin, published a translation of John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, of which Diderot wrote the same year, "Je ne connais aucun ouvrage plus propre à instruire les peuples de leurs droits inaliénables, et à leur inspirer un amour violent de la liberté. Parce que M. Dickinson parlait à des Américains, ils n'ont pas conçu que ses discours s'adressaient à tous les hommes. . . . On nous permet la lecture de ces choses-là, et l'on est étonné de nous trouver, au bout d'une dizaine d'années, d'autres hommes. Est-ce qu'on ne sent pas avec quelle facilité des âmes un peu généreuses doivent boire ces principes et s'en enivrer?"⁵

In these same years French periodicals were furnishing their readers with translations of the many political documents arriving in London from the British colonies. In this service the *Journal de l'agriculture, du commerce et des finances* was particularly active. For instance in January 1768 it published an "Extrait des délibérations des habitants de Boston, assemblés juridiquement à Faneuil-Hall, le 28 octobre, 1767"; and in October of the same year it devoted sixty pages to the translation of some twenty-two documents, including the circular letter sent by the Massachusetts Assembly to the other provincial legislatures in February 1768, the replies received, the correspondence between the Massachusetts Assembly and the royal governor, Sir Francis Bernard, and a number of related documents, including an anonymous "Sentiment d'un Américain."

The close association in the French mind between the American example and constitutionalism, particularly among the Economists and Encyclopedists, is evidenced by the publication in the Physiocratic *Ephémérides du citoyen* in 1771 of the "Lettres d'Abraham Mansword," probably the work of Franklin's friend

⁴ *Ephémérides du citoyen*, 1768, VIII, 192.

⁵ "Sur les Lettres d'un fermier de Pensylvanie," 1769, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Assézat et Tourneux (Paris, 1875-1877), IV, 88-89.

Barbeau Dubourg, which outlined a proposed constitution for an independent federation of the British colonies.⁶

M. Gilbert Chinard has already explained the great contribution of the Duke de La Rochefoucauld d'Enville, who with the eager assistance of Benjamin Franklin translated the American constitutions in the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (1776-1779), a propaganda periodical dated at Antwerp but actually printed in Paris and edited on behalf of the American cause by La Rochefoucauld, Franklin, Court de Gébelin, Jean Baptiste, Robinet and others. As will be shown, La Rochefoucauld's chief sources were documents supplied by Franklin and *The Remembrancer*; or, *Impartial Repository of Public Events*, published in London by John Almon. This publication was a treasure house of information on the United States and served as the chief source for the editors of the *Affaires*. Later, in 1783, La Rochefoucauld and Franklin collaborated in the publication of a semiofficial collection entitled *Constitutions des Treize Etats-Unis de l'Amérique*, printed by Philippe Denis Pierres, Imprimeur Ordinaire du Roi.⁷ The *Constitutions* and the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* did constitute the most important publications of American political documents in France during the American war, but there were many more besides these, and their number and variety indicate the breadth of the French audience they reached.

Three French journals were notably active in the publication of news and documents emanating from America. The most important of these was the *Courrier de l'Europe*, published in London (but reprinted for French distribution in Boulogne) from 1776 to 1792 by Serre de La Tour, Morande, Brissot and

⁶ *Ephémérides du citoyen*, 1771, XI, 75-112, and XII, 6-45. See Alfred O. Aldridge, "The Debut of American Letters in France," *French American Review*, III (1950), 1-23.

⁷ Gilbert Chinard, "Notes on the French Translations of the 'Forms of Government or Constitutions of the Several United States' 1778 and 1783," *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, 1943, pp. 88-106.

the Count de Montlosier, which contained a wealth of information on the United States. Talleyrand was to write in later years, "L'intérêt pour la cause américaine était entretenu en France par le journal de toutes les délibérations du congrès publié toutes les semaines dans une feuille intitulée: le *Courrier de l'Europe* . . . , le premier, je crois, de nos journaux spécialement politiques."⁸ Second, the *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits* (popularly known as the *Gazette de Leyde*), published by Jean Luzac, Hellenist, liberal, and correspondent of Washington and John Adams, had the reputation of receiving the latest and most authentic reports from America and was widely read. Lastly, the *Journal historique et politique*, bearing the imprint Geneva but actually printed in Paris, gave much space to the war and published many American political documents. In addition to these three the *Journal encyclopédique*, published by Pierre Rousseau in Bouillon, was very sympathetic toward the American cause and gave to American news and documents a large part of its limited space allotted to foreign affairs. All these journals, and to a lesser extent others such as the *Gazette de France* of Paris and the *Courrier d'Avignon*, supplemented the specialized reporting of American news offered by the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique*.⁹

In addition to these newspapers there were several collections of American constitutions:

(1) Recueil | des | loix constitutives | des | colonies angloises, | confédérées | sous la dénomination | d'États-Unis | de l'Amérique-Septentrionale. | Auquel on a joint les Actes d'Indépendance, | le Confédération & autres Actes du Congrès | général, traduit de l'Anglois. | Dédié à M. le Docteur Franklin. | A Philadelphie, | Et se vend à Paris, rue Dauphine, | Chez Cellot & Jombert, fils jeune, | Libraires, la seconde porte cochere à | droite, au fond de la Cour. | M.DCC.LXXVIII

12mo; a⁶ A-P¹² Q⁵; 191 leaves; pages [12] 1-370; 16.7 x 9.7 cm.

⁸ Talleyrand, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1891-1892), I, 69-70.

⁹ On these periodicals see Eugène Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française* (Paris, 1866).

Sabin 68448; DLC, BN, RPJCB, MH.¹⁰

A second and different edition published the same year, identical in text to the above and probably printed from it, was:

(2) Recueil | des | loix constitutives | des | colonies angloises, | confédérées | sous la dénomination | d'États-Unis | de l'Amérique-Septentrionale. | Auquel on a joint les Actes d'Indépendance, de Con- | fédération & autres Actes du Congrès général, tra- | duit de l'Anglois. | Dédié à M. le Docteur Franklin. | En Suisse, | chez les Libraires associés. | M.DCC. LXXVIII.

12mo; a⁶ A-P¹² Q⁵; 191 leaves; pages [12] 1-71, 22 [for 72], 73-367, 368 [for 368], 369-370; 15.8 x 9.3 cm.

Sabin 68448; MH.

The collection represented by the titles (1) and (2) above was a verbatim republication, probably pirated, of the constitutions and of a number of other documents relative to the United States which had previously appeared in the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique*, even the footnotes being copied word for word. These notes (some of which, incidentally, were undoubtedly written by Franklin)¹¹ were not without importance, for they afforded opportunity to explain such matters as the writ of habeas corpus and the jury system. A certain Regnier, who signed the dedication to Franklin, is assumed to have been the editor of the collection.

(3) Constitutions | Des | Treize États-Unis | De L'Amérique. | [Seal of the United States] | A Philadelphie; | Et se trouve A Paris, | Chez | Ph.-D. Pierres, Imprimeur Ordinaire du Roi, | rue Saint Jacques. | Pissot, pere & fils, Libraires, quai des | Augustins. | 1783.

4to; [4] A-Z⁴ Aa-Zz⁴ Aaa-Xxx⁴ Yyy²; 274 leaves; pages [8], 1-20, 22 [for 21], 22-298, 295 [for 299], 300-540; 25 x 19 cm.

¹⁰ The standard abbreviations are used in locating the various items described in this paper: Library of Congress, DLC; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, BN; John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RPJCB; New York Public Library, NN; Harvard, MH; Boston Public Library, MB. The listings do not represent an exhaustive census of locations.

¹¹ Chinard, "Notes on the French Translations of the 'Forms of Government or Constitutions of the Several United States' 1778 and 1783," pp. 91-92.

Sabin 16118; DLC, BN, NN.

The Library of Congress possesses two copies of this fine edition designated above. One, bound in red morocco and printed on "Papier-Vélin, de la Fabrique de M. Reveillon, à Courtalin, en Brie," bears the arms of La Rochefoucauld; the other, bound in French calf and printed on "Papier d'Annonay, de la Fabrique de MM. Johannot," is from Thomas Jefferson's library. The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, stamped with the crest of Marie Antoinette, is also on Papier d'Annonay.

The following octavo edition, apparently printed after the quarto, was made from the same setting of type, with the signature marks completely rearranged to fit the new format, the half-title eliminated, and the title page reset. The New Hampshire half-title, misspelled in the quarto, was corrected, an accent mark on the bottom of page 315 was lost in the reprinting, as well as the "e" from "quelque" in the bottom line of page 397.¹²

(4) Constitutions | des Treize États-Unis | de l'Amérique. | [Seal of the United States] | A Philadelphie; | Et se trouve à Paris, | Chez | Ph.-D. Pierres, Imprimeur Ordinaire | du Roi, rue Saint-Jacques. | Pissot, pere et fils, Libraires, quai des | Augustins. | 1783.

8vo; [2] A-Z⁸ Aa-Kk⁸ Ll⁶, *front.*; 272 leaves; pages [4] 1-298, 295 [for 299], 300-540; 19.2 x 12 cm.

Sabin 16118; BN, RPJCB, MH, NN.

This second collection, (3) and (4) above, was the semiofficial compilation edited by Franklin and La Rochefoucauld.

¹² There is also a variant identical with this octavo edition except for a pagination error, page 21 being incorrectly numbered 22, BN. Sabin also lists (16119) the following title:

Constitutions des Treize États Unis de l'Amérique; avec la Déclaration de l'Indépendance; les Articles de Confédération; les Traités entre sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne, les États Généraux des Pays-Bas Unis, le Roi de Suède et les États Unis de l'Amérique. A Philadelphie et à Paris, 1783.

8vo, title, pp. 540.

Sabin locates a copy in the Library of Congress, but Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Chief of the Rare Books Division, informs me that the Library does not possess such a title. It is not to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale or in any other library I have checked.

Some of the constitutions were given as printed in the *Affaires*, other were retranslated, and those which had been omitted from the *Affaires* were now added. In addition the material was re-edited, the notes rearranged, and the American treaties with France, Sweden and the Netherlands and also the Declaration of Independence were included. As M. Chinard has shown, the collection was based upon the official collection printed by order of Congress, *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America*.¹³

(5) Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil,

Essais | historiques | et politiques | sur les | Anglo-Américains, | Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil. | Tome Premier. | Première Partie. | A Bruxelles. | M.DCC.LXXXI.

8vo; a⁸ A-M⁸ N³ [3] a⁴ O-Z⁸ Aa-Dd⁸ Ee⁶, front., 4 pl., 4 folding maps; 232 leaves; pages i-xvi, 1-198, [2], i-xii, 199-230, 239-441; 19.4 x 12 cm.

Essais | historiques | et politiques | sur la révolution | de l'Amérique | Septentrionale. | Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil. | Tome Second. | Première Partie. | A Bruxelles, | Et se trouve | à Paris, Chez l'Auteur, rue des Bons-Enfants- | Saint Honoré. | M.DCC.LXXXII.

8vo; [2] a⁴ A-N⁸ [1] a⁷ O-Z⁸ Aa-Dd⁸ Ee², 4 pl., 5 folding maps; 232 leaves; pages i-xii, 1-173, 114 [for 174], 175-208, [2], i-xiv, 209-414, 315 [for 415], 416-436; 19.6 x 12.3 cm.

Sabin 31899; DLC, BN, RPJCB, MH.

A second handsome edition in two quarto volumes was published in Brussels in 1782:

(6) Essais | historiques et politiques | sur les | Anglo-Américains. | Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil. | Tome premier. | Première partie. | A Bruxelles. | M.DCC.LXXXII.

¹³ The | Constitutions | of the | Several Independent States | of | America; | The | Declaration of Independence; | The | Articles of Confederation | between the Said States; | The | Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty | and the United States of America. | Published by Order of Congress. | Philadelphia: | Printed by Francis Bailey, in Market-Street. | M.DCC.LXXXI.

8vo; [A²] B-Z⁴ Aa-Ff⁴; 114 leaves; pages [2], 1-207, 108 [for 208], 209-226; 18 x 11.5 cm.

Evans 17390; RPJCB, NN.

4to; [2] *⁴ A-R⁴ [2] ***⁴ S-Z⁴ Aa-Pp⁴, 4 *pl.*, 4 *folding maps*; 164 leaves; pages i-xii, 1-136, i-xii, 137-304; 27.3 x 20.3 cm.

Essais | historiques et politiques | sur la Révolution | de l'Amérique | Septentrionale, | Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil. | Tome Second. | Première partie. | A Bruxelles, | Et se trouve | à Paris, | Chez l'Auteur, rue des Bons-Enfants-Saint-Honoré. | M.DCC.LXXXII.

4to; [2] a³ A-T⁴ [2] a⁴ V-Z⁴ Aa-Qq⁴ Rr², 3 *pl.*, 5 *folding maps*; 169 leaves; pages [4], i-vi, 1-115, 108 [for 116], 117-152, i-xii, 153-315; 27.2 x 20.4 cm.

Sabin 31900; BN, RPJCB, MH.

This work, (5) and (6) above, perhaps the best informed book on the United States to come from a French pen during the war years, contained a translation of the Declaration of Independence, digests of several state bills of rights and analyses of the Articles of Confederation and of several of the state constitutions.¹⁴ D'Auberteuil's source, for all except the Declaration of Independence, appears to have been the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique*. The work was said to have been subsidized by Sartine, Minister of the Navy.¹⁵

The following list of translations of the most important documents, namely, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the state constitutions and bills of rights, does not claim to be definitive and complete, but it is the product of a lengthy and careful search in libraries both in France and the United States. Omissions, if any, are not, it is hoped, either

¹⁴ Bernard Faÿ in his *Bibliographie critique des ouvrages français relatifs aux Etats-Unis* (1770-1800), p. 17, lists another edition:

Essais historiques et politiques sur la Révolution de l'Amérique Septentrionale ... Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil ... Paris, 1783, 3 vols. 8vo. BN.

and Sabin 31899 lists a fourth:

Essais historiques et politiques sur les Anglo-Américains. Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil. Bruxelles, MDCCLXXXIV. 2 vols. 8 vo. pp. xii, 303; iv, 315. 17 Maps and Plates. MH.

A search of both the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Harvard Library, however, has failed to discover copies of either of these editions, and they have not been found in other libraries checked. Their existence therefore must be considered, for the time being at least, as doubtful.

¹⁵ *Correspondance secrète inédite sur Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, la cour et la ville de 1777 à 1792*, ed. A. M. de Lescure (Paris, 1866), I, 294.

many or significant. The distribution and frequency of these translations offer an illuminating index to the diffusion of American political thought in France during the years 1776 to 1783. Moreover it must be borne in mind that these basic writings were constantly supplemented by the publication in the various French periodicals of numerous resolutions and acts of Congress, of state legislatures and of various American towns and cities, and also by letters and proclamations issued by Washington and other American leaders, by writings of Franklin, Paine, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Samuel Cooper, Richard Henry Lee, John Hancock, Benjamin Rush and many other Americans, and finally by innumerable extracts from American newspapers.

The Declaration of Independence

Copies of the Declaration of Independence were circulating in London by the latter part of August, 1776,¹⁶ and correspondents of continental journals immediately sent the text to their editors. The *Gazette de Leyde* published what was probably the first French translation on August 30, and the *Journal historique et politique* followed with another on September 10. On March 11, 1777, the *Courrier de l'Europe* began the serial publication of a translation of John Lind's *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress* (London, 1776), which embodied a translation of the full text as well as a point-by-point refutation of the list of grievances. Lind's propaganda piece was also published in French the same year in at least two editions in different translations:¹⁷

¹⁶ E.g., *The Crisis* printed the Declaration of Independence on August 24, 1776, no. 84.

¹⁷ Sabin 41282 also lists the following title without reference to location:

Réponse à la Déclaration du Congrès Américain. Traduite de l'Anglois par A. F. J. Fréville. London: T. Cadell. 1777. 8vo. pp. (2), v, 124, Index, 4.

I have been unable to locate such a London edition or variant bearing the translator's name. Since the pagination is identical with that of (7), it may be to this edition that Sabin refers. If so, this is a double error, for the translation is very different from Fréville's.

(7) Réponse | à la | Déclaration | du | Congrès américain. | Traduite de l'Anglois. | [two-line Latin quotation] | A Londres. | Se vend chez T. Cadell, dans le Strand; J. Walter, | à Charing-Cross; & T. Sewell, près de la Bourse. | M,DCC,LXXVII.

8vo; [1] a⁴ A-P⁴ Q³; 68 leaves; pages [2], i-v, 1-124, [index 4]; 19.1 x 11.5 cm.

BN, RPJCB, MH.

(8) Réponse | à la | Déclaration | du | Congres américain. | [two-line Italian quotation and two-line Latin quotation] | Par M. Linde. | Traduit de l'anglois | Par M. Fréville. | A La Haye, | Chez P. F. Gosse, Libraire de S. A. S. | Le Prince Stadhouder &c. &c. &c. | M.DCC. LXXVII.

8vo; [1] A-N⁸; 105 leaves; pages [2], 1-193, 192-205; 20.9 x 11.2 cm.

Sabin 41282; BN, MH.

The *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* published two different translations of the Declaration of Independence in 1777.¹⁸ The first of these was republished by Regnier in his *Recueil des lois constitutives des colonies angloises*. Still another translation was included in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais historiques et politiques*. Lastly the *Constitutions des Treize États-Unis de l'Amérique* in 1783 contained a seventh translation.

The Articles of Confederation

This was by far the most widely published of all American political documents and was accorded a much higher estimation in France than in the United States. The first translation was probably a pamphlet entitled:

¹⁸ Vol. II, no. VII, 88-95, and vol. XI, tome IX, 169-177. In this and the following references to the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* the volume numbers given are those of the bound volumes of the set in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, which vary in some cases from the set in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Early issues were designated by "No." (of Cahier), later ones by "Tome." See collation in Paul L. Ford, "Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII (1889), 222-226.

(9) Articles | De confédération & d'union perpétuelles | entre les
Etats de |

Nouvel. Hampshire.
Baie de Massachusett.
Rhode-Island.
Connecticut.
Nouvelle-York.
Nouveau-Jersey.
Pensylvanie.

Les Comtés de New- |
Castle, Kent & Sus- |
sex sur la riviere De- |
lawar.
Maryland.
Virginie.
Caroline Septentrionale.
Caroline Méridionale.
Georgie.

N.B. Ces articles de Confédération, après avoir été | longtems pesés &
discutés, ligne par ligne dans | le Congrès, ont été enfin arrêtés & signés
par tous les | Délégués, le 4 Octobre 1776, à Philadelphie, tels | & ainsi
qu'ils sont ici rapportés; et en conséquence | ils ont été envoyés aussitôt
aux autres Etats pour | être par eux confirmés. Cette confirmation n'étoit
| pas encore arrivée de la part de tous, à Philadel- | phie, au départ du
vaisseau; mais on ne doute point | qu'ils ne soient approuvés & reçus géné-
ralement. | M.DCC.LXXVI.

8vo; A⁸; 8 leaves; pages 1-16; 19 x 11.8 cm.

Not in Sabin; BN, RPJCB.

The above was a translation made from the second draft of the
Articles of Confederation submitted to the Congress by a com-
mittee of the whole on August 20, 1776,¹⁹ and printed under the
following title:

(10) Articles | of | Confederation and Perpetual Union, | Between
the States of |

New-Hampshire,
Massachusetts-Bay,
Rhode Island,
Connecticut,
New-York,
New-Jersey,
Pennsylvania,

The Counties of New-Castle, Kent |
and Sussex on Delaware,
Maryland,
Virginia,
North-Carolina,
South-Carolina, and
Georgia.

[Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap?, August 1776]

¹⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. W. C. Ford (Washing-
ton, 1906), V, 674-689.

Folio; 4 leaves; pages 6; 32.5 x 21 cm.

Evans 15149; National Archives.

Only eighty copies of the Philadelphia edition were ordered printed, one for each member of the Congress, and the printer was sworn to secrecy, the Congress wishing to keep the text secret until they were ready to submit it for ratification to the states. In fact the text was to be subjected to much further debate and many revisions before its final adoption, and it was not submitted for ratification until November 15, 1777. Therefore the note on the title page of the French edition of the *Articles*, entered above, presents a minor mystery. The Journals of the Continental Congress record no action on the Articles on October 4, 1776 (when this note says they were ratified), and the text far from being in its final form was only a second and confidential draft. It is quite possible that this translation was made from a copy brought to France by Franklin, who left Philadelphia on October 26 and arrived in Paris December 21, for who else in Paris could have possessed this confidential document? This supposition is supported by the fact that the same translation of this same draft was reprinted in the *Affaires* (in which, as we know, Franklin collaborated) a short time later.²⁰ If this was the case, there is an interesting subject for speculation on Franklin's motives for misrepresenting the progress of the United States in achieving a stable form of government, and on his obvious haste (if we accept the date 1776 as genuine) in doing so. In any case this little pamphlet constitutes an extremely important document as the first unrestricted publication in any language of the Articles of Confederation.

Equally important is the fact that it was this second draft (which differed in many points from the final one) which was widely circulated throughout Europe and was studied by French students of government. After being published in the *Affaires*, it was republished in Regnier's *Recueil* and apparently formed

²⁰ Vol. III, no. XV, clxxix-clcii [i.e., cxcii].

the basis for Hilliard d'Auberteuil's analysis in his *Essais historiques et politiques*. As the only available text it was retranslated back into English in Almon's *Remembrancer* for 1776,²¹ and this retranslation was then translated back again into new French versions (unless we assume that Franklin circulated the American original throughout France, the Netherlands and England) by various periodicals. The *Courrier de l'Europe* carried the first of these retranslations on February 4, 1777, and this version was picked up and reprinted by the *Journal historique et politique* on February 20 and by the *Journal encyclopédique* on May 1 and 15. A second and different retranslation was published by the *Gazette de Leyde* February 11 and 14, and still a third by the *Courrier d'Avignon* February 18.

The text of the draft adopted by the Congress on November 15, 1777, of which there were many American publications, did not reach the French public until the following year, when the *Gazette de Leyde* published a translation on May 12, 15, 19 and 22, 1778. This was immediately copied by the *Courrier de l'Europe* on May 19 and 26. Finally, the *Constitutions des Treize États-Unis de l'Amérique* translated from the *Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America* the final draft dated July 9, 1778, with the ratification of March 1, 1781.

The State Constitutions

Connecticut. The State of Connecticut, instead of drawing up a new constitution, continued to be governed by its colonial charter, a description and analysis of which appeared in the *Constitutions des Treize États-Unis*, translated from *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*.

Delaware. The Bill of Rights, dated September 11, 1776, was published in two different translations in the *Courrier de l'Europe*, February 4, 1777, and the *Gazette de Leyde*, February 21, 1777.

²¹ *The Remembrancer*; or, *Impartial Repository of Public Events for the Year 1776, Part III* (London, 1777), pp. 240-245.

The full Constitution, including the Bill of Rights and the oaths taken by the members of the Convention, bearing the same date, was published in 1777 in the *Affaires*,²² and this same translation reappeared in both the *Recueil* and the *Constitutions*. Hilliard d'Auberteuil reproduced this third translation of the Bill of Rights in somewhat abridged form and analyzed the text of the Constitution. All these texts agree with the first American publication:

(11) [Caption title:] In | Convention, | at New-Castle, | For the Delaware State, | Begun the 27th Day of August, 1776, and continued by Adjourn- | ment to the 21st Day of September following. [Colophon:] Wilmington, | Printed by James Adams, M,DCC,LXXVI.

Folio; A-C²; 6 leaves; pages 1-11; 32.6 x 19.5 cm.

Evans 14732; DLC.

The immediate source, however, for the *Affaires* translation, and perhaps for the others as well, appears to have been Almon's *Remembrancer for 1776*,²³ for here is found a heading "In Convention of the Delaware State, Wednesday, September 11, 1776. A.M.," which is literally translated in the *Affaires* but is lacking in the title given above. The *Affaires* translation also follows Almon but not the American publication in printing the Oaths after instead of before the Bill of Rights.

Georgia. The Constitution, dated February 5, 1777, appeared in the *Constitutions*. The first American publication was:

(12) The | Constitution | of the | State of Georgia. | Georgia. | Savannah: Printed by William Lancaster: | M,DCC,LXXVII.

4to; 8 leaves; pages [4], 1-11; 20.7 x 15.7 cm.

Evans 15308; DLC.

However, the translation was probably made from the *Constitutions of the Several Independent States*.

²² Vol. V, no. XXI, iii-xxx.

²³ *Op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 231-239.

Maryland. The *Affaires* published in 1777 a translation of the Constitution and Bill of Rights of August 14, 1776,²⁴ republished in the *Recueil* and the *Constitutions*. This could have been made from either of the following primary American publications, supplied to La Rochefoucauld by Franklin:²⁵

(13) A | Declaration | of | Rights, | and the | Constitution | and | Form of Government, | Agreed to by the Delegates of Maryland, in | free and full Convention assembled. | Annapolis: | Printed by Frederick Green. [1776]

12mo; A²-8 B⁸ C⁴ D²; 21 leaves; pages 3-43; 15.5 x 10.3 cm.

Evans 14836; DLC.

(14) The | Declaration | of | Rights, | and the | Constitution | and | Form of Government, | Established by the | Convention of Maryland, | Held at the City of Annapolis, on Wednesday the 14th | August, anno domini 1776. | Annapolis: | Printed by Frederick Green. [1776]

8vo; [A¹] B-C⁴ D⁵; 14 leaves; pages [2], 1-26; 19.5 x 11 cm.

Not in Evans or Sabin; DLC.

The *Courrier de l'Europe* also published on October 7, 1777, a different translation, undated and without bill of rights, which was made from a source as yet unidentified.

Massachusetts. The Constitution with Bill of Rights, dated March 2, 1780, was published in the *Constitutions* and follows the text of the first American publication of the revised draft:

(15) A | Constitution | or | Frame of Government, | Agreed upon by the Delegates of the People of the State of | Massachusetts-Bay, | in | Convention, | Begun and held at Cambridge on the First of September, 1779, | and | Continued by Adjournments to the Second of March, 1780. | [Revised and Corrected.] | Boston: | State of Massachusetts-Bay, | Printed by Benjamin Edes & Sons, in State-Street, | M,DCC,LXXX.

8vo; A-E⁴, F²; 22 leaves; pages 1-43; 22.6 x 14 cm.

Evans 16845; DLC, RPJCB, MH.

²⁴ Vol. VI, no. XXVIII, F₂ recto (xlv)-I₅ recto (cxv).

²⁵ Letter of La Rochefoucauld to Franklin, March 26, 1777. See Chinard, "Notes on the French Translations of the 'Forms of Government or Constitutions of the Several United States' 1778 and 1783," p. 93.

La Rochefoucauld's translation, however, was probably made from *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*.

New Hampshire. A translation of the resolution of January 5, 1776, passed by the state legislature establishing a form of government was published in the *Constitutions*. This document was first published in 1776:

(16) In Congress at Exeter, | January 5th, 1776. | We the Members of the Congress of New-Hampshire, cho- | sen and appointed by the free Suffrages of the People of said Colony, . . . establishing a Form of Government, to continue dur- | ing the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain; . . . in such manner as the council, and Assembly shall hereafter prescribe. [Portsmouth: Printed by Daniel Fowle? 1776]

Folio broadside; pages 2; 31 x 20 cm.

Not in Evans or Sabin; DLC, RPJCB.

This was reissued later the same year in amended form:

(17) In Congress at Exeter, | January 5th, 1776. | We the Members of the Congress of the Colony of New-Hampshire, | chosen and appointed by the free Suffrages of the People of said Colony, | . . . establishing a Form of Government, to continue dur- | ing the present unhappy and unnatural Contest with Great-Britain; . . . In the House of Representatives, September 19, 1776. | . . . Copy Examined pr E. Thompson. Secretary. [Colophon:] Portsmouth, Printed by Daniel Fowle. [1776]

Folio broadside; pages 2; 30 x 21.5 cm.

Evans 14901; DLC.

The latter was the text reprinted in *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*, from which La Rochefoucauld's translation was probably made.

New Jersey. The Constitution, dated July 2, 1776, appeared in identical translations in the *Affaires*,²⁶ the *Recueil* and the *Constitutions*. The text agrees with that of the first American publication:

²⁶ Vol. IV, no. XIX, clxxviii-cxciii.

(18) Constitution | of | New-Jersey. | Burlington: | Printed and Sold by Isaac Collins, 1776.

4to; A-C²; 6 leaves; pages 1-12; 24 x 18.7 cm.

Evans 14912; DLC.

La Rochefoucauld, however, probably made his translation from the identical text in Almon's *Remembrancer for 1776*.²⁷

New York. The *Affaires*²⁸ published a translation of the Constitution written by John Jay and adopted April 20, 1777, and first published in:

(19) The | Constitution | of the | State | of | New-York. | Fish-Kill: | Printed by Samuel Loudon. | M.DCC.LXXVII.

8vo; A-D⁴ [E¹]; 17 leaves; pages 1-33; 18.6 x 11.5 cm.

Evans 15472; DLC, RPJCB, MH.

The translation was probably made from either of the two variants of this edition rather than from the 34-page edition of the same year also printed by Loudon,²⁹ which contains on page 34 the words "Resolve of the Convention, April 20, 1777," not translated in the French.

In 1783 the *Constitutions* printed a translation apparently made from the text in *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*, which differed from the above only in the omission of the preamble.

North Carolina. The Constitution with Bill of Rights, dated December 18, 1776, was published in the *Constitutions*. This translation was probably made from the text in *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*, which was identical with the first publication:

(20) The | Journal | of the | Proceedings | of the | Provincial Con-

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 73-76.

²⁸ Vol. XI, tome IX, 284-309.

²⁹ See R. W. G. Vail, "A Patriotic Pair of Peripatetic Printers. The Up-State Imprints of John Holt and Samuel Loudon, 1776-1783," in *Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth* (Portland, 1951), pp. 399-400.

gress | Of North-Carolina, | Held at Halifax the 12th Day of November, 1776. | Together with | The Declaration of Rights, | Constitution, & Ordinances | of Congress. | Published by Authority. | Newbern: | Printed by James Davis, Printer to the Honourable the General | Assembly. MDCCLXXVII.

4to; A-K⁴ L²; 42 leaves; pages 1-84; 18.5 x 14.5 cm.

Evans 15489; DLC, MH.

Pennsylvania. The *Courrier de l'Europe* published a translation of the Constitution, without the Bill of Rights and undated, on December 10, 1776. The same text, but with Bill of Rights and dated September 28, 1776, was translated in the *Affaires*³⁰ in 1777, and this version was republished in the *Recueil* and, with minor revisions, in the *Constitutions*, and was the basis for Hilliard d'Auberteuil's summary of the Bill of Rights and analysis of the Constitution. Both translations follow the text of the first American edition:

(21) The | Constitution | of the | Common-Wealth | of | Pennsylvania, | As Established by | The General Convention | Elected for That Purpose, | And Held at Philadelphia, | July 15th, 1776, | And Continued by Adjournments | to September 28, 1776. | Philadelphia: | Printed by John Dunlap, in Market-Street. | M,DCC,LXXVI.

8vo; A-D⁴; 16 leaves; pages 1-32; 21 x 13.3 cm.

Evans 14979; RPJCB, NN, MH.

In addition, the *Affaires* translation was included in the following seven of the nine editions known to have been published between 1776 and 1783 of Franklin's widely read *La Science du Bonhomme Richard* (*The Way to Wealth*):³¹

Paris: Ruault, 1777, 12mo; Second édition, Paris: Ruault, 1778, 12mo; Troisième édition, Paris: Ruault, 1778, 12mo; Quatrième édition, Paris: Bastien, 1778, 12mo; Lausanne: Grasset, 1778, 12mo; Lausanne: Grasset, 1779, 12mo; Avignon: Guichard, 1779, 12mo.

³⁰ Vol. IV, no. XVII, lx-cxxi.

³¹ Ford, *Franklin Bibliography*, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118; Bernard Faÿ, *Bibliographie critique des ouvrages français relatifs aux Etats-Unis (1770-1800)*, p. 10; Sabin 25583.

Rhode Island. Rhode Island, like Connecticut, continued to be governed under its colonial charter, which was published in the *Constitutions*, undoubtedly translated from the text in *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*.

South Carolina. Two different constitutions, the first dated March 26, 1776, and the second February 3, 1777, were published in the *Affaires*³² in 1777, and both were republished in the *Recueil*. These two constitutions were first printed in America with the following titles:

(22) [Caption title:] South Carolina. | In a Congress, | Begun and holden at Charles-Town, on Wednesday | the first day of November one thousand seven | hundred and seventy-five, and continued, by | divers adjournments, to Tuesday the twenty- | sixth day of March, one thousand seven hun- | dred and seventy-six. | A | Constitution, | Or | Form of Government, | Agreed to, and Resolved upon, | by | The Representatives of South-Carolina. [Charles-Town: Printed by Peter Timothy, 1776]

Folio; 4 leaves; pages 1-8; 28.5 x 19 cm.

Evans 15092; DLC.

(23) A | Bill | For Establishing | The Constitution | of | The State of South-Carolina. | Charles-Town: | Printed by Peter Timothy. | M,DCC,LXXVII.

4to; [1] A-B⁴ C⁸; 12 leaves; pages 1-23; 18.8 x 14 cm.

Sabin 87477; DLC.

La Rochefoucauld's translations agree with these two texts. However for the Constitution of 1777 he may have used as his source Almon's *Remembrancer for 1777*, which reproduced the American text exactly, even to the headings.³³

The *Constitutions* included the translation of a third and later constitution, dated March 19, 1778, the one published in *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*.

³² Vol. V, no. XXIII, cviii-cxxxi; vol. IX, no. XXXVIII, lviii-lxxxvii.

³³ *The Remembrancer for the Year 1777* (London, 1778), pp. 372-380.

Virginia. Translations of the resolution passed by the Virginia Convention on May 15, 1776, instructing the state's delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia to vote for independence, of a Bill of Rights dated June 1, 1776, and of the Constitution adopted June 29, 1776, were published in the *Affaires*³⁴ in 1777 and were later reprinted in the *Recueil* and the *Constitutions*. Hilliard d'Auberteuil used these translations for his slightly abridged rendering of the Bill of Rights and for his analysis of the Constitution.

The tracing of the sources of these translations has been a complex bibliographical problem. The Resolution was first published in a broadside:³⁵

(24) [I]n Convention. | Present 112 Members. | Wednesday, May 15, 1776. | Forasmuch as all the endeavours of the United Colonies, by | the most decent representations and petitions to the king and | parliament of Great Britain, to restore peace and security to Ame- | rica under the British government, . . . Resolved unanimously, that the delegates appointed to represent this | colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable | body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states, . . . Resolved unanimously, that a committee ought to be appointed to | prepare a Declaration of Rights, and such a plan of govern- | ment as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this | colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people. | Edmund Pendleton, president. | (A copy) | John Tazewell, clerk of the Convention. [1776]

Folio broadside; 31.8 x 21.8 cm.

Evans 15200; MB, Rhode Island Archives.

The *Affaires* translation, however, was certainly made from a version of the text printed in Almon's *Remembrancer* for 1776.³⁶

³⁴ Vol. V, no. XXII, lv-lxxx.

³⁵ Also published in:

The | Proceedings | of the | Convention of Delegates, | Held at the Capitol, | In the City of Williamsburg, | in the Colony of Virginia, | on Monday the 6th of May, 1776. | Williamsburg: | Printed by Alexander Purdie. | Printer to the Commonwealth.

4to; [A-B²] C-Z² Aa-Xx² [Y¹]; 93 leaves; pages 1-138, 137 [for 139], 140-185; 20.5 x 16 cm. Evans 15198; RPJCB, NN.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 222-223. It is certain that this is the source since La

The Bill of Rights translated in the *Affaires* is, as Gilbert Chinard has shown,³⁷ different in several important respects from the final draft adopted on June 12, 1776, and published on June 15 in the *Virginia Gazette*, and in the *Proceedings*. It is a proposed draft reported by the committee appointed May 15 to the Convention on May 27, 1776, printed June 1 in the *Virginia Gazette* and subsequently published in a folio by order of the Convention:³⁸

(25) The following declaration was reported to the Convention by the | committee appointed to prepare the same, and referred to the | consideration of a committee of the whole Convention; and, | in the mean time, is ordered to be printed for the perusal of the | members. | A Declaration of Rights made by the representatives of the | good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention; which | rights do pertain to us, and to our posterity, as the basis and foundation | of government. [Williamsburg, 1776]

Small folio broadside; pages 2; 34.8 x 20.3 cm.

Sabin 100021; Virginia Historical Society.

This text was reprinted in Almon's *Remembrancer for 1776*,³⁹ and it was undoubtedly from this source, as M. Chinard has convincingly demonstrated, that La Rochefoucauld made his translation.

The translation of the Constitution is an equally intricate problem. It was first published in the *Virginia Gazette* on July 6, 1776, and in:

(26) In a General Convention. | Begun and holden at the Capitol, |

Rochefoucauld translated an error in transcription found in the Almon text: "... to declare the united colonies free and independent states, absolutely [for absolved] from all allegiance to ... Great Britain." Translation: "... déclarer les Colonies unies, Etats, absolument libres & indépendans de toute obéissance à ... la Grande Bretagne." Furthermore, Almon incorrectly transcribed the signature of the Clerk of the Convention as "John Pendleton" [for "John Tazewell"] and this too was repeated in La Rochefoucauld's translation.

³⁷ "Notes on the French Translations of the 'Forms of Government or Constitutions of the Several United States,' 1778 and 1783."

³⁸ See *Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates*, pp. 32-33, 56.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 221-222.

in the city of Williamsburg, on Mon- | day the sixth day of May, one
thousand | seven hundred and seventy six, and con- | tinued, by adjourn-
ment, to the [*blank space*] day | of July following. | The Constitution, or
Form of | Government, agreed to and re- | solved upon by the Delegates
and Re- | presentatives of the several counties and | corporations of Vir-
ginia. [Williamsburg, 1776]

Folio broadside; pages 2; 39.8 x 24.2 cm.

Sabin 100020; DLC.

(27) Ordinances | Passed at a General Convention | of Delegates and
Representatives, | From the several Counties and Corporations | of Vir-
ginia, | Held at the Capitol, | in the City of Williamsburg, | on Monday
the 6th of May, | Anno Dom: 1776. | Williamsburg: | Printed by Alex-
ander Purdie. | Printer to the Commonwealth.

4to; A-L²; 22 leaves; pages 1-44; 20.7 x 16.2 cm.

Evans 15199; RPJCB, NN, MH.

The French translation follows the text of these three printings with four important exceptions: First, the signatures of Edmund Pendleton and John Tazewell, president and clerk of the Convention, are affixed to the French version but not to the English. Second, the French has inserted in the preamble the heading "Griefs contre le Roi et le Parlement réunis," after the complaints against the acts for which the King was held responsible and before the complaints directed to both King and Parliament. Such a heading was obviously desirable because of the otherwise unexplained shift in pronouns from *he* to *they* at this point, but it is curiously lacking in the English texts. Third, the French version numbers the various articles of the Constitutions, while in the English the various provisions follow one another without any separation other than paragraphing. Fourth, there are several serious inaccuracies in the translation of the list of grievances.

To explain these curious discrepancies it was natural to turn once more to Almon's *Remembrancer*, especially since La Rochefoucauld in a letter to Franklin, undated but certainly written in the spring of 1777, asked for the return of his translation of

the Virginia Constitution and "aussi les deux *Remembrancers* qui contiennent celle de Virginie."⁴⁰ And in fact in Part III for 1776 we find the Constitution.⁴¹

Almon's source was undoubtedly the *Gazette*. In the first place, the item is dated "Williamsburg, July 6," the date of the issue of the *Gazette* containing the Constitution. Second, Almon copied the heading used in the *Gazette*: "In a General Convention Begun and holden at the Capitol, in the city of Williamsburg, on Monday the sixth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy six, and continued, by adjournment, to the 5th day of July following." Only the *Gazette* had printed the heading in its complete form with the closing date of the Convention.

Since La Rochefoucauld likewise gave this complete heading as well as the date July 6, his source could have been only Almon or the *Gazette*. That it was Almon is indicated not only by the clue in La Rochefoucauld's letter to Franklin, but also by another circumstance. Almon's text left blank all direct and derogatory references to the King, Parliament and the royal governor. La Rochefoucauld, no doubt with Franklin's help, would have been forced to guess at the missing words, not always successfully. And it is invariably at these blanks that La Rochefoucauld occasionally falls into the otherwise inexplicable errors in translation.

Unfortunately we are still left with the mysteries of the added signatures and subheadings, for they were lacking in both the *Remembrancer* and the *Gazette*. However, since they were lacking in all the English versions which La Rochefoucauld might have used, as well as in the official *Constitutions of the Several Independent States* published later, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that they never existed in any English version and that La Rochefoucauld added them gratuitously, inserting the subheadings

⁴⁰ Chinard, "Notes on the French Translations of the 'Forms of Government,'" p. 93.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 65-69.

for clarity and in accordance with the practice in other state constitutions he had translated, and affixing to the Constitution the signatures customarily appended to the various resolutions of the Virginia Convention, many of which were printed in the *Remembrancer*.

Interest in the American constitutions of course did not cease with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The following year the Abbé Mably published his important *Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, and Jean Nicolas Dêmeunier followed with his translation of the American constitutions in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1786), in his *Essai sur les Etats-Unis* (1786), his *L'Amérique indépendante* (1790) and his *Supplément* (1791). In addition, there were numerous translations of American political works, such as *The Federalist* and William Livingston's *Observations on Government*, the latter published by the joint efforts of Fabre, Du Pont de Nemours, Condorcet, Gallois, Mazzei and others.⁴² When the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia, French liberals followed its deliberations with anxious interest. Madame d'Houdetot wrote her old and beloved friend Benjamin Franklin, "Je n'ai pu apprendre, mon cher et vénérable docteur, l'heureux événement qui donne une Constitution à votre pays sans éprouver le sentiment le plus doux dont le coeur humain soit susceptible, celui de voir le bonheur d'une partie du globe assuré par les progrès de la raison et le succès des lumières."⁴³ Delacroix, who published the new American Constitution in translation, called it "l'oeuvre d'une siècle de lumières."⁴⁴

⁴² *Le Fédéraliste, ou Collection de quelques écrits en faveur de la constitution proposée aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, par la convention convoquée en 1787* (Paris, 1792); William Livingston, *Examen du gouvernement d'Angleterre, comparée aux constitutions des Etats-Unis ... Par un cultivateur de New-Jersey* (Londres, 1789).

⁴³ Gilbert Chinard, *Les Amitiés américaines de Madame d'Houdetot* (Paris, 1924), pp. 43-44.

⁴⁴ Jacques Vincent Delacroix, *Constitutions des principaux états de l'Europe et des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1791), II, 321.

Nevertheless there existed a definite feeling among the more radical democrats that the new American federal Constitution was a work of reaction. For instance, the editor of a new edition of La Rochefoucauld's *Constitutions* published in 1792 had this to say on the new form of government: "Si on la compare aux diverses Constitutions de chaque état, on aura peut-être à gémir sur cette vérité, qu'il n'est pas de République, aussi démocratique qu'elle soit, qui n'amène incessamment le règne de l'Aristocratie."⁴⁵ It was the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and the early state constitutions and bills of rights which were fixed in French minds as America's purest and greatest expression of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity. When three Parisian lawyers published in 1821 a *Collection des constitutions, chartres et lois fondamentales des peuples de l'Europe et des deux Amériques*, they included a translation of the Virginia Bill of Rights, but did not even mention the federal Constitution of 1787.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Constitutions des Treize Etats-Unis de l'Amérique. Nouvelle édition* (Paris, 1792), p. 270.

⁴⁶ Ed. P. A. Dufau, J. B. Duvergier and J. Gaudet (Paris, 1821).

Ogilby's Coronation *Entertainment* (1661-1689): Editions and Issues

By FREDSON BOWERS

INTERESTING variants and a complicated bibliography are likely to result in the hand-printing period when a topical book is required in large quantities within a brief interval, or when printing is adjusted to the expectation of a continuing demand. The narrative written by John Ogilby of the coronation festivities for Charles II is no exception, for it appeared in three undifferentiated London editions in 1661; an Edinburgh reprint in the same year, followed by an expanded 1662 edition in two issues with a major *cancellans* section; and two condensed editions in 1685, one of which was reissued in 1689. The following analysis attempts to distinguish the various editions and issues with more detail than has yet been attempted.¹

The true first edition is a small folio, *The Relation of His Majestie's Entertainment Passing through the City of London to His Coronation*. . . . London, Printed by Tho. Roycroft for Rich. Marriott, in St Dunstan's Church-Yard in Fleet-Street, 1661. This is chiefly an account of the triumphal arches erected by the City to honor the King on his passage through the City to the Tower on Monday, April 22, the day preceding his coronation. From an Ogilby petition in March of 1661 (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1660-1661*, p. 553) we learn that "the Commissioners for the solemnity [have] appointed him to conduct the poetical part

¹ Both Wing and the Woodward and McManaway *Check List* are seriously deficient in their accounts. The most comprehensive listing to date was made without detail by I. Kyrle Fletcher, "The Literature of Splendid Occasions," *The Library*, 5th ser., I (1946-47), 192.

thereof, consisting of speeches, emblems, mottoes, inscriptions, &c." His task was performed betimes, and the initial account written, for on sig. [A] I of the 1661 *Entertainment* is printed the order of the King, dated April 11, giving Ogilby a monopoly of the printing. This grant was evidently in response to Ogilby's March petition, although the wording of that petition is more pertinent to the form of the 1662 edition: "for the sole privilege of setting forth a large and noble Treatise on the Coronation, with the most remarkable passages represented in sculpture, so that no false relations to its disadvantage may get abroad." *Mercurius Publicus* for April 11-18 advertises the book: "There is now in the Press (to be published the beginning of this next week) a Relation of His Majesty's Entertainment. . . . By Mr. John Ogilby." Thus it is likely that the work appeared on the very day of the procession through the City, Monday, April 22, or else the next.

The usual collational formula for this edition is 2°: [A]² B-K². However, a few copies precede sig. B1 with a leaf signed (a*) 1 containing a dedication by Ogilby to the Lord Mayor and Court of Alderman, and follow sig. K2 with a leaf signed L1 containing on its recto the names of the committee for the arrangements appointed by the London Common Council, with the verso taken up by an account of the participation in the Proceeding of children from Christ's Hospital. This addition will be considered later. In copies of this first edition at the London Guildhall, the Library of Congress and the University of Texas the imprint has the spelling "Dunstones", corrected in press in the other examples seen to "Dunstan's".

This first edition may be recognized most easily by its head-title on sig. B1 with the plural form "ENTERTAINMENTS" and the text beneath beginning with an ornamental initial requiring six set-back lines of type. On the verso of B1 the description begins with the spelling "MUNDAY". On G1 the initial sets back only five lines. On K1 is found the hyphenated form

"CAVAL-CADE" in the heading. Copies of this edition are represented by Harvard, Yale, Folger, Clark, Congress (2), Texas (2), London Guildhall (2), British Museum (G11517), Bodleian ([1] Gough Lond. 122 [13]; [2] Gough Lond. 4 [1]) and by University Library, Cambridge. Of these, only the Harvard and Cambridge copies have the leaves (a*)₁ and L₁. Some corrections were made in press during the course of printing. For example, the inner forme of sheet B exists in three states. In the first, or uncorrected, of sig. B1^v, line 10 ends the paragraph with "Stage." and in line 31 there is a semicolon after "*Edinburgh*". In the first stage of correction, "near the Pump." was added to conclude the paragraph after "Stage" in line 10; in the final state the semicolon after "*Edinburgh*" (now line 32) was altered to a comma in the process of making various other changes. The inner forme of F was extensively press-corrected. The uncorrected state can be identified by the readings on sig. F1^v of "*Main,*" in line 1 and "*Mediterranean,*" in line 7 as against corrected "*Main.*" and "*Mediterrane*". Corrections appear in outer G, in line 8 of G2^v the uncorrected state reading "*Foot*", but the corrected "*Talon.*" The inner forme of sheet I was also corrected. The uncorrected state may be recognized from the reading, in line 29 of sig. I2, "Beams (at Noon)", for which was substituted the corrected "Beams, at Noon,".

A second edition appeared very shortly, if not simultaneously (the BM's Thomason copy of this second is not dated). In its ideal form this edition collates 2°: [A]² (*a)₁ B-K² L₁, but the two odd leaves *a₁ and L₁, printed together as one sheet (they are found conjugate in one University Library, Cambridge, copy), are missing in a few examples, and I take it that these latter may represent the earlier stage of binding-up this edition before the added material on the new sheet was available. Since the title-pages for the two editions are printed from the identical typesetting, this second edition has been confused with the first, which it closely resembles in other respects as well.

However, the most obvious differentiating points are the appearance in the head-title of the singular form "*ENTERTAINMENT*", followed by an initial requiring five set-back lines, the B1^v spelling "*MONDAY*", a set-back of six lines for the initial on G1, and on K1 the unhyphenated spelling "*CAVALCADE*". Copies of this edition are represented by Folger (2), Huntington, British Museum ([1] E. 1080[16]; [2] 115.i.41; [3] 644.k.32), Bodleian ([1] Gough Lond. 2[2]; [2] Wood 398[17]; [3] Ashm. G.10[3]), London Guildhall, Trinity College, Cambridge, and an anomalous copy at University Library, Cambridge, that will be discussed presently.

Except for the first sheet inferentially signed A, which is of the same setting in both editions, this second edition has been completely reset from B1 to F1, where for the first time, in the last eleven lines of the page, is found standing type from the first edition. The rest of sheet F is impressed from such standing type, as is the inner forme of sheet G, the outer of H, both formes of sheet I except for the last six lines on I2 and the last two on I2^v, and the inner forme of K save for the last four lines of K2. All else is reset. This pattern suggests the theory that the first edition was set up, printed off, and distributed as far as sheet F (indeed even beginning the distribution of outer F with sig. F1) before the second edition was planned. Thereafter, a half or more of the type was tied up to await a second impression of the selected formes, while the remainder was deliberately broken up and reset to conform in part to the make-work rules of the Stationers' Company limiting the number of impressions that could be taken from a single typesetting.² On the whole, it seems plausible to believe that this whole process took place before the crucial date of April 22: with two exceptions, in every copy of the editions I have seen the sheets were kept separate in the binding. At some time both must also have been simultaneously on

² For similar books in the early years of the seventeenth century, see my "Notes on Standing Type in Elizabethan Printing," *PBSA*, XL (1946), 205-224.

sale, although the evidence suggests that the first edition was almost sold off before copies of the second were released.

This evidence falls short of demonstration, but it is significant, I think. The nature of the additions on sig. L1^v about the children of Christ's Hospital and their part implies that the extra material was printed very shortly before publication. It would be too much to say, very likely, that the events of April 22nd itself produced the additions. The only two copies of the first or "*ENTERTAINMENTS*" edition (hereafter for brevity noted as NTS) which I have seen with the added leaves (a*) and L are the two normal copies at Harvard and at University Library, Cambridge; and also at ULC is a curious made-up copy in which sheets A-D and F-G are from the second or NT edition, and sheets E and H-K from the first or NTS edition. Such a copy rather looks like a remainder, bound up from miscellaneous sheets to piece out the edition.³ However, there is a matter of greater import in this ULC copy. Although (a*)₁ is in the same typesetting (the verso is blank), and so is L1^v, yet L1 is printed from a different typesetting from that found in most other copies. In this copy, in the next to last line, the "C" in "City" is a swash letter and the signing letter "L" comes under the last syllable of "raised", whereas in the usual setting the "C" is an ordinary italic letter and the signing letter "L" comes under the first syllable of "Considerable". On the whole, it seems probable that this variant setting and impression of the added sheet was a second machining in order to make up extra copies, although on the evidence of standing type the decision to print more must have been taken fairly soon. The NT Bodleian Wood copy also has this setting; but on this scanty evidence it may be possible to associate the impression with the later NT copies. But to revert to the original problem, it seems likely that the general absence of the (a*) and L leaves from the majority of

³ The only other made-up copy I have seen is that at Trinity College, Cambridge, where in the second edition sheet E is missing and sheet C is from the first edition.

copies of the first edition is an indication that they were bound up, at the very least, before this sheet was printed, and it may be that various were sold before the addition was available. On the evidence of the Harvard and ULC normal copies (which there is no reason to suspect as sophisticated), some few copies of the first edition were not bound before the sheet was printed (or else the sheet was added at the end). Moreover, a very few copies of the second or NT edition also lack these leaves, perhaps because binding had earlier begun on this edition. There is, then, some evidence that the added leaves were not available before most copies of the first edition had been bound and also perhaps a few copies of the second edition. As we should expect, copies of the second edition could not have been available as early as copies of the first; but we still have no evidence as to whether all were ready by April 22. However, it would follow that though an ideal copy of the second or NT edition should contain leaves (a*)₁ and L₁, and copies without them might with some slight lack of justice be called imperfect, they are not necessary for an ideal copy of the first edition, and those copies of the first edition which bind in these leaves presumably have them only because they were somewhat in the category of remainders. (However, I should not advise an owner of a first edition to abstract them!)

The determination of the order of these two editions involves a certain amount of conflicting evidence. At first sight, indeed, the evidence would seem to suggest an order opposite to the true one. For example, the first or NTS edition seems to change its font and compositor abruptly with sheet F (the first sheet to contain standing type), only to revert to the original again with sheet G. On the other hand, the second or NT edition has sheets B-C set by one compositor, and sheets D, E and F by another (the characteristics of F being the same in both editions, of course). It would appear to be a logical bibliographical inference that the reason for the anomaly in F in the NTS edition is that it represents the standing type taken over from the homogeneous

section of three such gatherings of the NT edition, and that the NT edition must therefore be the earlier. Moreover, on B_I the catchword is "*the*", the following word in the uncorrected state of B_I^v in NTS is "*present*", as in the NT edition, thus necessitating the addition of "*the*" by press-correction. If the NTS edition had followed the NT, though not quite page for page, the error would be explained very simply.

However, one should point out that if on other grounds the NTS edition can be demonstrated as the earlier, we need only take it that the compositor of F was re-assigned to set one half of the earlier sheets to form the new NT edition (i.e., sheets D and E) and that these coincide in font with the standing type of F simply because this same compositor took over with him his cases and his habit of imposing pages using larger parentheses about the headline pagination. If this is so, why this compositor suddenly appears in F, but not in the forward setting of G, is the only mystery, especially when the distribution of some lines on F_I leads to the view that the first forme of G may have been on the press when the decision was made to enlarge the edition. But since the demonstration of the priority of NTS can in fact be made, the evidence pointing in the contrary direction contains an excellent illustration of the caution with which inferences should be drawn from bibliographical observations, when more than one interpretation is at least theoretically possible and the case is below the plane of positive demonstration.

The evidence for the priority of NTS is in three parts. First, the material printed on leaves (a*) and L is obviously in the nature of addenda, and the common appearance of these leaves only in the NT edition enforces the belief that this is the later printed and bound. Second, although there is evidence for considerable press-correction in the NTS sheets, as is normal for a first edition, I have observed no variants in the NT sheets. For example, in the much corrected B inner forme, in all but one reading, i.e., the alteration of "Ingenuous" to "Ingenious" in

line 3 of Br^v in which the original was right, NT reproduces the fully corrected state of the NTS forme. On the other hand, when further press variants are found in outer forme G, NT follows the uncorrected state of NTS, as in the reading "*Foot*" at line 8 of G2^v for "*Talon*", the corrected reading. Both are reset formes, however, and hence there can be no positive demonstration of the order, although consistency of explanation can be adduced for NT as the later edition, but inconsistency if it is the earlier.

Fortunately, we need not rely on such probabilities, however, since clinching evidence is luckily available. The press-variant in the imprint of NTS is of especial significance because to reverse the order of editions would require one to assume, without any evidence, that type had loosened, and the gap repaired with a misspelling. It is unlikely that the particular error would be made from printed copy in the first place. In fact, the order making "*Dunstones*" the compositor's original infelicity can be proved by the manner in which the ascender to the second letter "h" in "*Church*" next following, only slightly bent in "*Dunstones*" imprints, progressively bends more and more sharply in "*Dunstan's*" imprints. But even here probability is still being appealed to. The case is proved on irreversible mechanical evidence from the inner forme of sheet F. In this forme more than a dozen press-corrections are made within the NTS sheet from the early state of the type as found in the Harvard and Library of Congress copies. Yet in the standing type of the NT sheet, the readings in this forme are in the *corrected state* of the NTS sheet. No other explanation is possible except that NTS is the earlier edition.

Confirmation, though superfluous, is afforded by the third piece of evidence. There is still another edition, the third in 1661, which exists so far as I know uniquely in British Museum 601.m.29(1). Although its readings are sometimes curious combinations from the two preceding editions, it takes over a certain

amount of standing type from the NT edition, and thereby establishes on other evidence the priority of the NTS edition. This third edition collates [A]² B-M² and may be readily identified by this difference in the signing. (It is a rare example of a later edition with an expanded collation from an earlier.) The various details of the use of standing type from the second edition are of insufficient importance to warrant listing here. What is remarkable about this edition is the way in which it ordinarily changes the present tenses in the description of events to the past, even in standing type; and also the fact that it introduces two new matters, the speech of the children of Christ's Hospital and the speech of Sir William Wylde. These had been printed separately, the first for John Hayes (BM E.1088[5]) and the second for Edward Powell (BM E.1088[4]), and may represent copy either withheld from Ogilby as being not of his composition, or, more probably, copy that was composed too late to be included in his two editions, which had to be ready on the day itself and may have been substantially printed by April 11, the date of the grant of monopoly. It will be recalled that mention of the Christ's Hospital children was made in the addendum leaf L1 affixed to most copies of the second edition. This third edition is also of importance for its revision and expansion of the details of the cavalcade to take account of the changes decided on the morning of the event, and therefore not accurately described in the first two editions.

The first, or NTS edition of the *Entertainment*, was reprinted in Edinburgh in 1661, and is very rare. I have seen copies only in the Newberry Library and London Guildhall. The National Library of Scotland owns one, too.

On the evidence of his petition of March, 1661, Ogilby from the start had had plans for a special edition, "a large and noble Treatise on the Coronation, with the most remarkable passages represented in sculpture." No one of the three editions of 1661

meets this description, and they seem to have been designed as profitable holding operations until the originally conceived magnificent volume could be prepared. In the *Kingdoms Intelligencer* for November 3-10, 1662, is the advertisement, "Newly extant, that large treatise formerly promised and much expected of his Majesties entertainment by John Ogilby. Sold by *Richard Marriot* and *Thomas Dring*."⁴ In fact, this advertisement refers to the second issue with a cancel title-leaf and the imprint "Printed for Richard Mariot and Thomas Dring, and are to be sold at their Shops in Fleet-Street MDCLXII." The original issue of the magnificent new edition of *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II in his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation. . . . Added, A Brief Narrative of His Majestie's Solemn Coronation. . . .* has the imprint, "London, Printed by Tho: Roycroft, and are to be had at the Authors House in Kings-Head Court within Shoe-Lane, MDCLXII." This very large folio presents a revised and greatly expanded text replete with small engravings and added commentary, and with full-sheet engravings of the arches, the coronation procession, and the King in the Abbey. Of the original issue I have seen copies at Newberry Library, Library of Congress, New York Public, Columbia, Huntington, British Museum ([1] C.77.i.1; [2] 603.l.34; [3] 140.h.17; [4] 140.h.17), Bodleian (B.6.3[3] Art.), and Trinity College, Cambridge. Of the second, or Marriot and Dring issue, I have seen copies at Harvard, British Museum (L.R. 294.d.15), London Guildhall, Christ Church, Oxford, University Library, Cambridge, and have received descriptions of Caius College, Cambridge, and Brasenose College, Oxford, both of the Roycroft issue.

There are minor press and engraving variants in the 1662 folio, but only one major problem. That is a good one, however. Plans for the volume must have been in hand the month after

⁴ Reprinted in the issues for Nov. 10-17, Nov. 24-Dec. 1, Dec. 1-8, and Dec. 8-15. Also advertised in *Mercurius Publicus* for Nov. 6-13 and Dec. 4-11.

the coronation, for in May, 1661, a letter from the King to Ogilby: "Prohibits his publishing the form of His Majesty's proceeding through London and of the coronation, represented by 'apt cuts and figures,' although he has approved it, until it has been submitted to Sir Edward Walker, Garter, by whom the proceedings were chiefly drawn up" (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1660-1661*, p. 606). It is quite clear that what had excited this withdrawal of permission was not anything to do specifically with the account of Charles's progress through London on the day preceding his crowning, but rather the important new matter in the volume, the detailed account of the coronation itself. It was this which had been largely drawn up by Garter King and which therefore should be submitted to his scrutiny. This seems clear from a second letter of the King to Ogilby, dated April 25, 1662: "The King to Ogilby. He is not to publish his account of the ceremony and proceedings of the Coronation until the same be viewed, corrected, and approved by Sir Edward Walker, Garter principal king-at-arms, by whom the whole ceremony and proceedings were ordered" (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1661-1662*, p. 350). That there should have been a need for a second royal command in this matter a year later is odd. But the concealed facts are even odder. We must now turn to the book itself.

The 1662 *Entertainment* is a huge folio in 4's, collating Front. + [A]² B-C² D-Y⁴ Z⁴(-Z₄), 2A-2C⁴ 2D². The title is on A1, the text on B1. On 2A1 is the section-title: "A Brief Narrative of His Majestie's Solemn Coronation: with His Magnificent Proceeding, and Royal Feast in Westminster-Hall." Sig. A1^v, the back of the main title, contains the imprimatur: "I have perused a brief Narrative of His Majesties Solemn Coronation, printed by M^r. Ogilby, together with his Description of His Majesties Entertainment passing through the City of London to His Coronation, &c. and, in pursuance of His Majesties Order unto me directed, have examined, and do approve thereof,

so as the said Mr. Ogilby may freely publish the same" subscribed "From the Heralds-Colledge this thirteenth of June 1662. Edward Walker, Garter Principal King of Arms." This approval is evidently the result of the King's order of April 25th given above. There would seem to be no reason why the volume should not have been published shortly after this date of June 13, 1662; and since the Marriot and Dring advertisement of early November states that the book has been available ("newly extant" is perhaps pushing things a bit), and since this Marriot-Dring issue with its *cancellans* title would seem to represent Ogilby turning the volume over to the professionals after having sold the maximum number of copies himself, it is probable that the folio was indeed first exposed for sale in late June or early July of 1662.

In an ideal copy of the *Entertainment* the section devoted to the coronation itself, that part which had twice led to the interposition of the King, is contained in the gathers 2A-2C⁴ 2D². The section-title, as given, comes on 2A1, the verso blank, and a FINIS on 2D2^v. The first page of text is 2A2, paged 167, a number which continues the pagination of leaf Z3, pages 165 and [166], though without allowing for the tacit numbering of leaf 2A1. The fact is that this section 2A-2D as described is entirely a cancel, a substitute for other leaves which were originally printed with a somewhat different text. In the British Museum copy of the Marriot-Dring issue (L.R.294.d.15), after the *cancellans* section, are appended the original cancelled leaves. These consist of a disjunct single unsigned leaf paged 167-168 and containing the start of the text, with head-title, followed by fourteen leaves in gatherings 2A-2C⁴ 2D², the text continuing on 2A1 and ending on 2D2, with 2D2^v blank. Moreover, the London Guildhall copy of this issue is made up in the same curious manner; but preceding the disjunct unsigned leaf of the *cancellans* section is another disjunct single leaf, this containing a section-title, "A Brief Narrative of the Solemn Rites and Cere-

monies performed upon the day of the Coronation of our Sovereign Lord King Charles II Happily Celebrated upon the 23^d. day of April, being Saint Georges Day, Anno Domini 1661. Observed, and Collected by Elias Ashmole Esq; Winsor [*sic*] Herald." Copies of the Roycroft-author issue at Brasenose College, Oxford, and Caius College, Cambridge, also contain this appended cancelled section, both with the Ashmole section-title.

In no case is the Ashmole section-title conjugate with the disjunct unsigned first leaf of text in the *cancellandum* section; moreover, the paper of the section-title leaf differs from that in the cancelled leaves. Hence there is every reason to suppose that the unsigned first leaf of text represents the original Z4 and, since the pagination is continuous with Z3, that no section-title was originally planned to introduce the coronation description. Either the Ashmole section-title was an afterthought, therefore, or else it could have been printed not for inclusion in the Ogilby volume, ordinarily, but for prefixing to some copies of the coronation account which Ashmole could have proposed to issue privately. One thing is clear: the section-title leaf with Ashmole's name was not necessarily dropped from the Ogilby volume as a result of the difficulties which arose with the section, since it was seemingly not printed as an integral part of the volume. That Ashmole's name was omitted from the revised section-title to the *cancellans* leaves, however, seems almost certainly due to the difficulties which ensued.

Indeed, I take it that Ogilby had had the coronation section printed before the 25th of April and that the King's letter was in consequence of this act and an insistence that the original order requiring Sir Edward Walker's approval of the text and engravings be observed. Only by such a hypothesis can we explain the expensive cancellation of so many sheets, and their complete resetting with no sign of standing type. That these sheets were cancelled and the text considerably altered is proof that Walker found the account unsatisfactory when, sometime between April

25 and June 13, the text was submitted to him. Some indication may be given that errors had earlier been discovered. In the Guildhall copy and in the copy in the Public Records Office shortly to be described are a few revisions in the cancelled leaves made in what seems to be the same hand, and which I take to be in the nature of publisher's manuscript alterations. For example, in line 8, p. 167, "Purple" as the color of the King's robe is deleted and "Crimson" written in the margin.^{4a}

In the Public Record Office State Papers Domestic 29, v. 34 (listed in *Calendar 1660-1661*, p. 571) is a copy of the cancelled coronation section alone with the Ashmole section-title. In this copy are contained not only the few possible publisher's alterations found in the Guildhall example, but also numerous other revisions in a different hand. This hand has also annotated the title with the text which was later printed in the *cancellans* section-title, and also has placed in the margin of [Z4] the text of what became the head-title on 2A1 of the *cancellans* leaves. Finally, numerous words and passages are underlined, presumably by the same revising hand. All of the revisions made in both hands are found in the reset *cancellans* section; and it is significant that all of the text which was underlined in the P.R.O. copy has been excised in the new version.

^{4a} Mr. Desmond Neill of the Bodleian Library has very kindly pointed out to me that in at least one respect Ashmole was indeed inaccurate, since the purple robe which he originally assigned to Charles on his arrival at the coronation was in fact the robe in which he left, a crimson robe being provided for his entrance. See *A Circumstantial Account . . . From an Original Manuscript by Sir Edward Walker* (London, T. Baker, 1820), p. 46. Mr. Neill also remarks that an Ashmole account was published in 1685 as *The Compleat Solemnity of St. Georges Day*. . . . Finally, in MS Ashmole 819 at the Bodleian is preserved the printer's copy for the cancellandum text of the coronation section *A Brief Narrative*. That in the folio the Ashmole description indeed began on leaf Z4 originally is demonstrated by the notation on fol. 2 (starting the text) of the MS paging the verso as Z8 (*i.e.*, sig. Z4^v) and 168. The Ashmole cancellandum text (but with *crimson* for *purple*) was published in 1741 as *The Entire Ceremonies of the Coronations of His Majesty King Charles II. and of her Majesty Queen Mary, Consort to James II. As published by those Learned Herald's Ashmole and Sandford*. Other Ashmole manuscripts of the Narrative are preserved in MS Ashmole 1503. iv; and (reportedly in Ashmole's own hand, a fair copy) in Harl. 4129.

There seems little doubt that the private hypothesis of Mr. J. Bromley of the London Guildhall Library, who first saw the importance of the P.R.O. copy in his investigations of the peculiarities of the Guildhall volume, is correct: that we have here the copy originally submitted to Sir Edward Walker and marked by him for revision. There seems no other explanation for the presence of this document in the Public Record Office. It may be that Mr. Bromley is correct in his private speculations that Walker's chief motive for demanding that copy pass his approval, and then for censoring it so severely, was some jealousy of the newly appointed Windsor Herald's describing a ceremony which had been Walker's responsibility and ordering. However, we must consider that the original order of the King's was made within a month of the coronation, and we have no means of knowing at what date Ashmole wrote his account, or whether at this early date it would have been known that Ogilby proposed to include in his large volume, still a year away, an account by Ashmole. Moreover, there are enough simple alterations of fact to justify some belief that Ashmole's version was not indeed very accurate in all details, even though it is difficult to explain all the Walker revisions and excisions on this ground alone. We must not forget the serious religious nature of the rite and especially the high seriousness with which the anointing of the King as a "sacred" person was taken, and its political importance as the most serious objection to the deposition of a monarch. In his only recently rebellious England, it is likely that Charles would wish to be especially careful that any detailed account of the coronation ceremonies was carefully censored by proper authority "so that no false relations to its disadvantage may get abroad." Whether Walker took the initiative in prompting the letter of May, 1661, we cannot know. But, it is clear, either the King alone, or at Walker's prompting, continued to insist on the necessary censorship; that this be performed by no other hand than Walker's; and that the second letter was prompted by Ogilby's

ignoring the initial order and printing a version which had not first passed through Walker's approval. Whether Ashmole was Walker's target from the start, or whether he was only caught in the middle, is not at present ascertainable.

That the cancelled section should be appended to certain copies is interesting, since this could not have happened by chance. The *cancellans* leaves invariably appear before the original section, and hence it is clear that sig. Z₄, the initial leaf of the *cancellanda*, had been cut from its Z₁ conjunct and collated with the pile of *cancellanda* sheets 2A-2D. If the cancelled section had been restricted only to copies of the Marriot-Dring issue there might have been reason to conjecture that this was a commercial bookseller's dodge to make slow-moving copies more attractive by some under-the-counter dealing, although there would have been some question as to how they secured copies of the cancelled leaves. But since Ogilby-issued copies may also contain these leaves, the burden is perhaps to be shifted back to him. It is clear that issue with the added leaves cannot have been accidental. Since one would normally expect such *cancellanda* to be pulped on excision, it may perhaps be said also that their preservation, to be bound in a few copies, was not entirely accidental either. Of course, these do not constitute a separate issue, but merely redundant copies. At any rate, Ogilby seems to have escaped any loss of favor. Sometime in May, 1665, he petitioned Charles "for a prohibition to any persons to reprint or counterfeit the sculpture of any of the following books, which he has printed at expense of 20 years' labour; viz. Virgil . . . and the account of His Majesty's passing through London, and his coronation." On May 25th the King prohibited any person for fifteen years to reprint the books mentioned in the petition (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1664-1665*, p. 384).

The 1685 folio, no. 864 in the Woodward and McManaway *Check List*, has caused library cataloguers some difficulty because

of its entry there to William Morgan. In fact, the title-page reads, "By John Ogilby Esquire. Published by William Morgan his Majesties Cosmographer," and the imprint is, "London, Printed by Ben. Griffin, and are to be sold by Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black-Boy, over against St. Dunstons Church, in Fleetstreet. 1685." This is still a third form of the text, based on the 1662 folio but most severely cut and digested; and indeed its chief function seems to have been to serve as a vehicle to justify the sale of sets of engravings of the arches and the Abbey interior which Morgan was advertising.⁵

Curiously enough, this 1685 throw-away edition gave rise to an Edinburgh reprint, in quarto, "Reprinted by the Heir of A. Anderson." This little book is uncommon, and I have seen copies only at Newberry, Huntington, London Guildhall and Bodleian (Gough Lond. 4[3]). Wing records two copies in Scotland.

Finally, there is a previously unrecorded reissue of the 1685 London edition, this with an imprint dated 1689, in Bodleian (KK 5[6] Jur.). I do not know of any other copies elsewhere. In this issue the imprimatur and advertisement printed in the first or 1685 issue on the verso of the title, here appear on a separate unsigned leaf following sig. E2, the cancel title being blank on its verso. This added leaf and the cancel title seem originally to have been conjugate. As presently bound, and disjunct, the imprimatur and advertisement are on the verso of the added leaf.

⁵ As I. Kyrle Fletcher has already remarked, these engravings of the arches sold by Morgan have lettering in the arch-space which is absent from the plates in the 1662 folio.

Best Sellers in Seventeenth-Century Fiction

By CHARLES C. MISH

THE question, What is the most popular piece of seventeenth-century fiction? seems at first to admit of an easy and objectively valid answer. One need simply count the number of editions of the various titles available and choose accordingly. Unfortunately, as a moment's reflection will show, the matter is really not that simple, for a number of complicating considerations immediately suggest themselves. In the first place, there is the difficulty of possible lost editions; Esdaile,¹ for instance, cites from Hazlitt and other sources a few editions of titles discussed below which are unconfirmed by known locations. Again, the bibliography of seventeenth-century fiction is not sufficiently well documented to enable one to distinguish in all cases between a new edition and a reissue; that such a distinction is of real consequence is readily apparent when we realize that a new edition represents a genuine demand for the title where a reissue is likely to be the sign of a slow sale given an artificial stimulus.² A third point is perhaps more meta-physical: is the steady appearance of edition after edition over a long span of years more indicative of popularity than a concentration of an extraordinary number of editions within a relatively few years? And finally there is the problem of lumping together various versions of the same translated work, and of considering the connection with their parent story of the abridg-

¹ Arundell Esdaile, *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London, 1912).

² I am grateful to Professor Fredson T. Bowers for reminding me of this point, as well as for several other valuable suggestions concerning this paper.

ments which became so usual towards the end of the century.

Obviously some decision has to be made in the case of each of these points, and obviously no rule of thumb is going to be satisfactory in every case alike. I have tried to deal with each problem in the simplest way consonant with what seems to me good sense: I have admitted into my count of editions all those cited by Esdaile (together, of course, with those that have come to light since the publication of his bibliography); I have generally ignored the edition-issue problem, since there is so little reliable material on it to which I could turn; I have relied on a straightforward basis of numerical superiority, disregarding relative frequency of appearance in favor of totals; and in the count I have kept abridgments separate from their originals.

Some degree of subjective bias in selection has been inevitable, then, but it may perhaps be kept to a bare minimum if the initial question be changed to the plural so that it becomes, What are the most popular pieces of seventeenth-century fiction? Spread over this wider area, bias becomes negligible and errors introduced by my methods of counting will tend to cancel each other out; the resultant findings should offer a reliable index of what constituted a best seller in the field of seventeenth-century fiction.

Moreover, dealing with a group of titles instead of a single one will enable the investigation to avoid the embarrassment of a meaningless or anticlimactic finding. In a strict count of numbers, editions of Aesop—and the fable is certainly a form of fiction—far outstrip any other title; when school texts and all other prose versions are lumped together, the total reaches something like forty editions between 1600 and 1700. But surely Aesop is an unsatisfactory choice for first place among fiction best sellers; surely Aesop is not what we think of when we speak of seventeenth-century fiction (no matter what it is that we *do* have in mind), and surely we may be allowed to discard this finding as useless after fulfilling our obligations by merely noting it.

Having disembarrassed ourselves of Aesop, then, we may begin to look around for some acceptable candidates with which to begin a list of popular pieces of fiction. And when the bibliographical evidence has been sifted, weighed, and arranged, we find that there were nineteen titles which ran to ten or more editions during the course of the century. Since this group of books is undoubtedly large enough to give us a reasonably broad foundation for our needs, we may as well arbitrarily set our lower limit of popularity at ten editions, and then proceed to a consideration of these nineteen books in the order of their relative popularity. It must always be remembered, however, that since the members of the series lie so close together that one title's precedence over another may depend on something so uncertain as the dating of an undated edition close to the end of the century, the difference of a single year in assigning the date may raise or lower a book by a whole place in the scale of popularity. In other words, the order in which the books are to be discussed must correspond roughly to that of their relative popularity, but their places in the list are not absolutely fixed.⁸

With these preliminary considerations in mind, we may say that the distinction of being the most popular work of prose fiction during the seventeenth century seems to belong to the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Twenty editions of the book appeared between 1678 and 1695, the date of its last seventeenth-century appearance (though the title-page of the 1695 edition calls itself the fourteenth). No other piece of prose fiction before this time had so concentrated a popularity; in less than twenty years Bunyan's allegory had outdone all other fiction titles in frequency of appearance. And, unlike other seventeenth-century titles in this field, *Pilgrim's Progress* did not disappear from the bookstores during the eighteenth century, but continued to appear in edition after edition, right down, indeed, to the present

⁸ It will be observed that I have tacitly assumed that all editions are of the same size in the number of copies; again, this is the only assumption I can possibly make.

day. Nor is that other characteristic of the popular book, the appearance of sequels, absent in this case: Bunyan himself provided a second part to his allegory (of which part six editions were called for in the century), a spurious but almost as popular sequel appeared from the pen of one T. S. and went into four editions, and a like number of editions appeared of an equally spurious third part.

The century's second most popular piece of fiction is also, significantly enough, another religious allegory, Richard Bernard's *Isle of Man*. Bernard, a Puritan divine, was rector of Batcombe in Somerset when in 1626 he published his little tract, of which nineteen editions had appeared by the end of the century. The book is a rather heavy-footed allegory dealing with the search for and trial of Sin, who in the first part is sought out in Soules-town (capital of the Isle of Man) by the watch, Godly Jealousie and his attendants, and is captured and handed over to the jailer, Mr. Newman; in the second part he is arraigned in his various aspects, tried and sentenced. The familiar moral abstractions appear in tremendous profusion in the book (although the *Isle of Man* is only one-fifth as long as *Pilgrim's Progress*, it has over seven hundred named characters as against the other book's one hundred and eighty), but Bernard lacks the ability (perhaps desire, too) to make his Sir Worldly-Wises, Sir Plausible Civills, and Mrs. Hearts come alive: they remain pure abstractions. Nevertheless, though the book's affinity with other pious literature of the early century is marked, the *Isle of Man* is fiction, and was popular. Two early editions are no longer known—a sign that they have been lovingly read right out of existence probably—and the author, apparently in grateful response to his welcome reception, enlarged his text with the fourth edition. But by the end of the century the book's career was pretty well run; neither the eighteenth nor the nineteenth century seemed much in want of further editions, and indeed it is hard to imagine that

an audience which had Bunyan to read should be able to get through Bernard, even inspired by piety.

With the next titles on the list we come to more secular and hence perhaps more satisfyingly "fictional" ground. Greene's *Pandosto*, its title changing to the more generally known *Dorastus and Fawnia* in 1636, went through some eighteen editions during the seventeenth century, and, toward 1700, appeared in an abridgment as well. As the source of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, the story is too well known to need comment, but it may be pointed out that this is the only one of Greene's numerous tales to survive in the latter half of the century; could we definitely isolate those elements which must have distinguished it in the eyes of contemporary readers from the others so similar to it we would go a long way toward knowing just what constituted popular appeal in the Stuart era. The eighteenth century saw a few further editions of the tale, and, like a number of other extremely popular stories, it was made into a droll to entertain audiences at fairs.

Eighteen editions also were published of the *Gesta Romanorum* during the century. Despite the fact that the version offered to readers in the period 1600-1700 was the one made by Richard Robinson in 1577, the essentially medieval character of the stories contained in the book is readily apparent; indeed, the antique flavor of the material is glanced at in the title with which Robinson furnished his version: *A Record of Ancient Histories, Entituled in Latin: Gesta Romanorum*. Each of the forty-four constituent tales is provided with an "Argument" and is followed by a long "Morall"; the latter feature is probably the one that gave the book status, for in seeking to attach a spiritual significance to every action and character in the tales, the "Morall," not worrying about strained or oddly wrenched interpretations, makes the whole work into a satisfying allegorical storybook. That it was the moralizing element chiefly which insured the book's success is partly confirmed by the fact that a late seventeenth-

century abridgment appeared as *The Young Man's Guide to a Virtuous Life*. As one might expect, the book retained its popularity during the eighteenth century.

The next title on the list, Sir Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis*, owes its position to circumstances purely fortuitous. Only one edition of this fragmentary, if highly interesting, work appeared under its own name, but since it was regularly included in all editions of Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, it managed to make a total of sixteen appearances during the century. *The New Atlantis* thus becomes a piece of fiction which achieved an accidental popularity; it cannot be considered a candidate for best-seller honors in its own right. Had it had no such assistance, it could hardly have hoped for greater popularity than that which attended Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, a fuller and much more satisfactory picture of the ideal commonwealth, which had four editions only during the century.

By way of contrast comes the first chivalric romance on the list, Emanuel Forde's *Parismus*, which enjoyed the popularity of sixteen editions. Old-fashioned when it was written (1598-1599) and presumably addressed to an audience whose tastes were somewhat retarded culturally, *Parismus* offers a long narration of a standard heroic career modelled on the style of Spanish romances like *Palmerin d'Oliva* and *Amadis de Gaule*. A second part deals with the equally remarkable doings of the hero's son, called Parismenos, the Knight of Fame. Demand for this somewhat dull but workmanlike production remained fairly steady all through the century, though the appearance of editions is noticeably more frequent after 1660, as is usual with all these romances. With the first eighteenth-century edition, that of 1704-1705, the book's career came to a close, but the abridgments which had begun in the seventeenth century as early as 1660 continued to flourish; most of these are undated, but it is likely that at least four of them appeared before 1700, with a slightly larger number coming out after that year.

Running close behind *Parismus* comes another chivalric romance much like Forde's book, Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom*. To a modern reader the fact that Johnson's romance went through only fifteen editions where *Parismus* had sixteen seems a piece of injustice; because of its greater liveliness in incident and its greater variety in content it should, one thinks, have had greater recognition, but its contemporary readers deemed otherwise, quite possibly because its language, deliciously quaint today, may have seemed unpleasantly affected and artificial compared to the business-like dullness of Forde's style. Johnson's work proved to be longer-lived than his rival's, however; the *Seven Champions* appeared not only steadily right through the seventeenth century (the interval between editions becoming shorter in the latter part of the century again), but the book continued to come out in the eighteenth. Moreover, in 1686 a third part appeared, its dedication signed W. W. (i.e., William Winstanley); in this unmistakable piece of evidence of strong continuous popularity the adventures of the three sons of St. George (the chief hero of the first part) are concluded. Abridgments also appeared, the first in 1661, two others following during the remaining years of the century, and still others being published during the eighteenth century.

Deloney's *Jack of Newbery*, probably the most readable of its author's three middle-class "romances," ran to fourteen editions during the seventeenth century, or, more exactly, appears to have been published about fourteen times. Such was the popularity of Deloney's work that any statement about editions of any of his books must be based largely on supposition rather than on fact. Many editions, particularly the earliest ones, have apparently disappeared, and others exist only in the pages of Hazlitt's bibliographical collections or in undated editions hard to pin down. In the case of *Jack of Newbery*, the earliest known edition is that of 1619, which calls itself the eighth on its title-page. Because the book was entered on the *Stationers' Register* in 1597, it

is quite likely that the edition statement of 1619 is correct, even though one's faith in the ability of seventeenth-century printers to keep the number of editions straight is a little shaken by finding that the self-styled eleventh edition of 1630 (which had properly come after a tenth edition of 1626) is followed by an edition "now the ninth time imprinted" in 1633 and another "now the tenth time imprinted" in 1637. However, if we accept the claim of the 1619 edition to be the eighth, and further allow for two editions before 1600, we arrive at the figure already postulated as the likely number of editions of *Jack*, namely, fourteen. It should also be noted that the last two editions of the book, the so-called fourteenth and fifteenth, are both undated; both of them should probably be assigned to the seventeenth century on the basis of the working years of their publishers, but the latter of the two may be as late as 1719. No further editions of *Jack* appeared after this until modern times, though there was, in 1684, an abridgment, made by "W. S. F.C."

The general difficulty attending Deloney's bibliography is perhaps even better illustrated in the case of his salute to the shoemakers of England called *The Gentle Craft*, which may well be considered here along with its fellow. Again the earliest editions are missing; though Hazlitt described the first, which he dates 1598, and another of 1627, the earliest known copy today is one dated 1637: it offers no statement about how many editions had preceded it and we do not know quite how to guess at the number lost, if indeed any were. After 1670, editions of the book become more frequent and more troublesome; many of them are undated, and, from the available bibliographical evidence it is impossible to say whether they are complete or partial, whether they present both of the original two parts or one or the other solely. Ignoring possible losses and calling all appearances of the book alike editions, we may guess at a figure of sixteen for the whole century's production. The unhappy situation is not rendered any better by the appearance of three un-

dated editions of what is apparently an abridgment, *The Shoe-Makers Glory*; of these, at least one is assignable to the seventeenth century.

Close behind Deloney's books comes a work whose fourteen seventeenth-century editions represent various versions of that collection of frame tales known as the *Seven Sages*. Its roots reaching back into ancient Indian story, the collection represents the oldest layer of fictional material popular in the century, but, since the text he perused was subjected to the usual stylistic refurbishing, the contemporary reader could not very well have been aware of any special antiquity in the fifteen tales of the group. As *The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, a title taken, like the text itself, from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of *circa* 1520, the tales made twelve appearances in the century, beginning in 1602 and appearing more frequently after 1670 than before. Two other versions also appeared, one in 1674 as *The History of Prince Erastus*, the other in 1684 as *Erastus, or The Roman Prince*. Still another version, which should probably also be assigned to this century, is one called *Wisdoms Cabinet Opened*, of which there is a copy, the imprint cut away, in the Pepysian Collection.

Much like the work of Forde and Johnson in its appeal is the next title, *Valentine and Orson*, an older and more genuinely conceived chivalric romance, however, than their late imitations. Introduced into English as early as 1505, *Valentine and Orson* became really popular only after 1670, even though there had been two or possibly three earlier seventeenth-century editions. All of the century's thirteen editions, beginning with that of 1637, are abridged and rewritten versions of the rather lengthy original, containing only fifty-two of the one hundred and seventeen chapters of Copland's sixteenth-century edition. Later in the century the abridgment process was carried still further when Laurence Price reduced the text to six chapters (fitting in-

to nineteen pages); and another hand at the end of the century, less drastic, made a forty-two chapter adaptation.

The fact that Sidney's *Arcadia*, which ran through a dozen appearances in the course of the century, appears on this list at all is a remarkable tribute to its author's ability and reputation. Indeed, the book seems a little out of place among its companion best sellers; the only representative of its type—the courtly romance in epic form—to achieve popularity in England, it is also the only piece of fiction aimed at a contemporary upper-class audience which gained anything like a general appeal. Moreover, since the book always appeared in folio, it must have been comparatively more expensive than the usual quarto romance. One would like to think that sheer excellence alone can keep a book alive, but the fact remains that that excellence was no longer potent after three-quarters of the century had passed. The last seventeenth-century edition of the *Arcadia* to be published was that of 1674, so that at the very time when the more vulgar romances were undergoing an upsurge in popularity Sidney's romance was on the way out, a fate from which its few appearances in the next century (one of them a rewriting) could not save it. After 1674, however, the book did have a sort of galvanic life; it had, via Francis Quarles's verse refashioning of one of its incidents, spawned a prose retelling of the story of Argalus and Parthenia, and this rather sorry *membrum disjectum* represented the divine Sidney's delicious romance to readers in the last decades of the century.

A dozen editions were produced also of *Faust* during the century, though again abridgments and the sequel enter as complicating factors. Under the 1592 title of *The History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* twelve editions appeared, beginning in 1608, and as usual with a slight preponderance in the latter half of the century. Three abridgments also appeared of the original text, all of them undated, but ob-

viously belonging to the last two decades of the century. The so-called *Second Part*, which had first appeared in 1594, was reissued toward the end of the seventeenth century after a lapse of some eighty years, to run through five editions before the century closed.

Making its appearance in eleven editions is another romance of Emanuel Forde, *The Famous History of Montelyon, Knight of the Oracle*. Since the earliest known edition is, however, dated 1633, the suspicion that at least one or two earlier printings are lost amounts almost to a certainty; Forde's other two like works, *Ornatus and Artesia*, and the already mentioned *Parisismus*, both appeared first in the closing years of the sixteenth century, and it is entirely reasonable to assume *Montelyon* their coeval. At any rate, the book continued to come out at intervals through the century, though again the bulk of the editions are after 1670. A fairly quiet story for its type, *Montelyon* follows the proper course of a chivalric romance in the career of its hero and the circumstances of the background, but there is noticeably less magic operating in the story; the narrative is less interrupted than usual with side issues or minor heroes; and the description of fighting is somewhat reduced in amplitude. In short, *Montelyon* retains the main features of the chivalric type, but curbs their excesses; perhaps this is the reason for its running a poor second to *Parisismus*. (*Ornatus and Artesia*, Forde's third piece of fiction, which does not enter the picture, is still slighter, and seems to be more a tale in the manner of Greene than a chivalric romance.) No sequel appeared for *Montelyon*, though its hero's fame was sufficient to lead the unknown author of *Don Juan Lamberto* in 1661 to use the knight's name as a pseudonym; the abridgments which duly followed in its wake came out rather late, not putting in their appearance until the eighteenth century was well under way.

Mandeville's *Voyages and Travels*, of which eleven editions also came out during the century, must be mentioned here, since,

even if the work was ostensibly a travel book and undoubtedly received as such by contemporary readers, it nevertheless appealed to the same sense of wonder and delight in the exotic that animated interest in the romances. The editions extant of this title are pretty evenly distributed over the century, and follow each other closely in format too, the typography and illustrations changing little as edition succeeded edition. As usual, though, there is a slow but noticeable degeneration in the appearance of the successive printings of the book, with poorer composition and presswork plainly in evidence. No second parts or abridgments of Mandeville came to swell the ranks of the regular issues of his book.

Four titles appeared in ten editions each during the seventeenth century: Lyly's *Euphues*, *The Famous History of Friar Bacon*, *Reynard the Fox*, and John Reynolds' *Triumphs of God's Revenge*. The first of these, *Euphues* (under which title are included both parts, since seventeenth-century editions commonly ran to both), is an anomalous and somewhat embarrassing title, since it is the only book on the list which lost its popularity during the course of the century; no edition was demanded after that of 1636, and not until the rewritten version of part one appeared in 1716 did the work turn up again in print. Unlike the other popular books of its century, its appeal was exhausted after a blaze of excitement, and hence one suspects that it was never a genuinely popular book; that its success came from an extraordinary vogue it had among upper-class readers who gave it a tremendous admiration for fifty years, but let it die like any other literary mode, while the middle class remained true for another century to its favorite stories. That its success was amazingly great may be seen by adding the roster of sixteenth-century editions, some thirteen of them, to what the seventeenth century produced; no other piece of fiction till we come to *Pilgrim's Progress* had anything like the concentrated appeal that *Euphues* had. Why it died out need not be discussed here; if for no other rea-

son, however, its feebleness as a narrative would doom it as a standby for the middle-class reader, whose patronage alone could, apparently, render a work of fiction a best seller.

The History of Friar Bacon, on the other hand, is a genuine representative of the seventeenth-century popular book; it appeared steadily over the years from 1627 on, again with the majority of editions coming in the latter half of the century. No special comment is needed on a title as well known as this, except perhaps to point out its affinity with the more popular Faust story, with which it shares the function of representing a group of books, which, for want of a better term in English, we must call *Volksbücher*. A sequel, dealing with the merry exploits of Miles Wagner, Bacon's famulus, appeared towards the turn of the century, though it is difficult to say whether it falls on the near or the far side of the dividing line of 1700.

Perhaps the most typical example of the popular book in the century is *Reynard the Fox*: it has a respectable air of venerability, first appearing in English from Caxton's hands in 1481; it has European affiliations; its ten editions mark a genuine if moderate popularity, one neither too great nor too small to render it exceptional; and it was duly provided with sequels and abridgments. Making its seventeenth-century debut in 1620, *Reynard* was issued at intervals during the ensuing eighty years, enjoying a small flurry of editions in the fifties (1650, 1654, 1656, 1662) presumably because of real or fancied topicality in its content. In the second half of the century the sequels began to appear; first came a second part in 1672, which killed off the title character, and then a third part, in 1684, which, as *The Shifts of Reynardine*, had to use Reynard's son as its protagonist, a favorite procedure for continuations in any case. The last fifteen years or so of the century saw the appearance of two or three undated abridgments of the adventures of the crafty Fox. However, Reynard's history had two other tributes paid to its popular appeal: in 1681 John Shirley versified the main part of the story in riming couplets,

and as early as 1640 a close imitation came out, entitled *The Pleasant History of Cawwood the Rook*, in which sly villainies of a feathered counterpart of Reynard were discoursed.

Finally, Reynolds' huge collection of moralized tales of violence which he solemnly and piously called *The Triumphs of God's Revenge against the Crying and Execrable Sin of Murther* must be mentioned. The thirty constituent stories in the collection were published serially, beginning in 1621, in lots of five; but by 1635 the first complete edition was published, and with this edition the book's career as a popular work may be said to start. From then on, its history is one of growth; it picked up copperplate illustrations in the 1657 edition, and was enlarged in 1679 by the addition of ten more stories, these illustrating the sureness of God's punishment of adultery. In 1661 a piracy attested to the popularity of the book by presenting an abridged text to which five extra stories had been appended; this unlawful appropriation of the original was duly repudiated in the title of the 1662 edition of the true text. But in 1685 another abridgment appeared, this one uncontested, from the pen of one "Thomas Wright, M.A., of St. Peter's College in Cambridge," who unblushingly thus signed his name (with no mention of Reynolds) on the title-page. Wright's version, which went through three or four editions, also added more stories, four of them in fact, to show the "triumphs of friendship and chastity"; and also, in the 1688 edition, provided fifty "elegant epistles" more. Reynolds' book is, with the *Arcadia*, the only folio to appear on the roster of best sellers, an additional tribute to its power.

When we come to look at these nineteen popular pieces as a group we cannot help being, first of all, struck with the fact that the great majority of them—nearly all of them, in fact—are of considerable antiquity by 1700, most of them old by 1600. It is obvious, of course, that popularity in literature must depend upon or at least be closely related to the reprint market, but it is somewhat surprising to find such a permanent and antiquated

body of reprints as this list shows in the seventeenth century. Naturally, when the question is one of repeated publication over the years as it is here, the advantage will lie with older titles, since of course they have a better chance of making themselves noticed through sheer length of life. Still, as the one title in the group originating after 1660 shows us, it is not impossible for a latecomer to the field to catch up with or to surpass the established leaders. Not impossible, but not likely either, for popularity in seventeenth-century fiction seems definitely bound up with age of material. Of the titles I have discussed only three come from the seventeenth century itself (though several others lie in the late 1590's close enough to be almost Stuart creations): Bernard's *Isle of Man*, Reynolds' *Triumphs*, and, of course, Bunyan. It is thus the old, the hoary, the book hallowed with tradition, that takes the middle-class fancy in this period and so makes itself a best seller, and this is true both of the content and appearance of these books; typographically as well as artistically such titles as we find on the list were real anachronisms in the age of Dryden and the Royal Society.

From the point of view of content, it may be said that by and large the popular book was a romance, whose characteristics may be summed up thus: it originates at a date earlier, often considerably before, the beginning of the seventeenth century; it is sturdily old-fashioned, presenting both in appearance and content antiquated, indeed anachronistically retarded, tastes; it continues its popularity right through the century with no regard for fashion in literary style or material; its appeal is exotic, dealing as it does in wondrous feats of arms, strange locales and descriptions of lushly opulent displays, and enchantments, prophecies and spells. It is this last characteristic, in fact, which seems to constitute the strongest claim to popularity, for even those books which are not romances proper are romantic in the sense of retailing strange and wonderful things, of marvels beyond the seas.

But the appeal to the sense of wonder is not the only factor marking out these popular books. It will be remembered that leading the whole group were two pious allegories, Bunyan's and Bernard's twin efforts. When we add to this consideration the constant admonitory comment which we find scattered through the pages of Reynolds, the moral explanations of the real meaning of the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*, the lesson-drawing constantly underlined in the Faust story, we must conclude that second only to a taste for romance was a delight in moralizing. These two traits seem to be the only common denominators to be found; but they are everywhere, and, while some books incorporate both appeals, some only one or the other, of the two the romantic seems the more widespread and hence the dominant one.

In the matter of text and publication, the typical pattern is this: an earlier text is rewritten to make the language contemporary; a sequel or continuation is provided; and finally abridgments of the original are made. Few books show this process in all three stages, but it may be thought of as the ideal "full treatment" of a popular story. In spite of the modernization of the language, a general air of antiquity in the editions of these books was apparently desirable; hence they regularly appeared in black letter, were illustrated, when they had pictures, with crudely done woodcuts, and present in general a homely and inelegant appearance. To judge from their looks, they were put together as cheaply as could be to reach a market which would neither spend much for books nor indeed have much money to spend in any case.

Though these nineteen titles, with one or two exceptions only, came out steadily from one end of the century to the other, the upsurge of interest in romances after 1660, and growing stronger after 1670, is worth noticing. In the case of the majority of romances, the greater number of editions lies in the post-Restoration years, and it is always these years which see the production

of abridgments. These abridgments, of course, represent the final step in the democratization of popular fiction; books, in some form or other, were reaching down steadily farther into the various social strata. This tendency, also indicated in all probability by the increase of romance interest after 1660, continued steadily into the eighteenth century. Indeed, the process of abridgment barely begun in the Restoration years reached its climax after 1700 with the proliferation of tremendously compressed little 24mos of few pages. The appearance of *Valentine and Orson*, for example, in a tiny chapbook, its original hundred and seventeen chapters boiled down to twenty-four small pages, must mean that the process of expanding the reprint market which had begun after the middle of the seventeenth century had gone almost as far as it could.

We must conclude then that in the seventeenth century, as certainly in the nineteenth and the present centuries, fiction has two aspects: there is the constantly changing, almost kaleidoscopic, surface aspect of new titles, new styles, new vogues, but there is beneath that surface like a constantly flowing underground stream a steady outpouring of reprinted favorites having nothing to do with what is on the top. Fashionable readers in the first half of the century had their romances of sentimental adventure, their French heroic romances in the middle years of the century, and, after 1660, their "secret histories," their duodecimos of exotic amorous adventures like *Ottoman Gallantries* of 1687 or *The Chaste Seraglian* of 1685; middle-class readers kept on with their old standbys which must have seemed curiously naïve and childish to more cultivated tastes. Not that new productions for the middle-class reader were not published all during the century; the tales of George à Greene and of the Merry Devil of Edmonton in the first half of the century, and the work of Laurence Price in the latter, all attest to the fact that there was a middle-class audience whose wants were being catered to. But even these books are deliberately antique in flavor and ap-

pearance to make them seem less new and hence less untraditional.

Any attempt to consider the fortunes of fiction in the seventeenth century must keep in mind the phenomena not only of literary history—the appearance of the new—but also of what might be termed subliterary history, the recurrence of once-new titles over and over again long after the date at which they made their entry into the annals of publishing. Such consideration will not divert the course of the century's fiction, but it will enlarge our understanding of that course by showing that underneath it there flows a steady undercurrent of different material, older, caring nothing for fashion, remaining relatively constant in volume. Lost in a general view, these titles of really popular books in the period 1600-1700 must be retrieved by special care, but they constitute an important part of the whole and must not be neglected.

Bibliographical Notes

The First American "Rasselas" and Its Imprint

It has been known that an edition of *Rasselas* was published in the colonies in 1771 or earlier, ever since Boswell published the first edition of his life of Johnson. But it was not until 1924, when Professor Chauncey Brewster Tinker identified the volume in an article in the *Yale Review*, that it was learned that Robert Bell had issued the book in Philadelphia in 1768, with the curious imprint: "America: Printed for every purchaser." The book is quite scarce; only twelve copies can be located, and most of them lack the frontispiece engraving.¹

It is the unusual imprint of the volume which attracts the bibliographer's attention. Why did Bell print "America" instead of "Philadelphia," and why did he say that the book was "printed for every purchaser"?

There are other examples of similar imprint phrasing during this period. Bell himself, for instance, used the identical imprint on the first American edition of Goldsmith's *The Traveller* (Philadelphia, 1768). In 1770 he used the imprint: "America: [Philadelphia:] Printed for the subscribers by Robert Bell. . . ." for his three-volume edition of Robertson's *The History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth*. This latter imprint also appears on his edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries* (Philadelphia, 1771, 2v.), and on the three editions of the appendix to Blackstone, published 1772-74.

Other printers also adopted the formula, or approximations of it. In 1768 the Bradfords in Philadelphia issued Henry Laurens' *Extracts from the Proceedings . . .* with the imprint: "America: Printed Anno Domini M,DCC,LXVIII." The next year an unidentified printer published *An Account of the Trial of Joseph Andrews for Piracy and Murder . . .* with the imprint: "America: [New York:] Printed for every purchaser, M,DCC, LXIX." Isaiah Thomas in Boston noted the place of origin of *A Sermon on Natural Religion. By a Natural Man* (1771) with the words: "America: Boston, Printed by I. Thomas, for the author." And a Loyalist tract appeared with the imprint (perhaps as a device to get the pamphlet

¹ Vide C. B. Tinker, "Rasselas in the New World," *Yale Review*, XIV (1924-25), pp. 95 ff. (also a separate printing in book form). *Rasselas* is Evans 10939; Hildeburn 2368.

into more hands): Myles Cooper's *A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans*, "America: [New York:] Printed [by James Rivington] for the purchasers. 1774. . . ." Charles Lee's pamphlet supporting the colonists' view, *Strictures on a Pamphlet* [—] (that of Myles Cooper) . . . , carried the subscription: "America, [New York:] Printed for the purchasers. 1774."

Other examples have been recorded. The explanation for the use of the phrases, however, lies primarily in the history of the times rather than in any eccentricity of the publishers.

As early as April, 1763, the merchants of Boston had organized the "Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce with the Province of Massachusetts Bay." The object of this association was to promote local manufactures, to limit British imports, and to press for the repeal of the onerous restrictions on trade imposed by the British government.

Printing was one of the local trades which was trying to break free from British dominance. The entire movement really got underway in 1764 and 1765, because of the impending Stamp Act. Other groups of merchants were asked to join the project, and New York soon followed Boston's example. In Philadelphia, in 1768, there was great agitation to adopt the non-importation agreements of the two commercial centers to the north. A petition was sent to the King and to both houses of Parliament in September, 1768, praying for the repeal of the Townshend Acts. When this appeal failed, the Philadelphians finally joined the other American merchant groups in adopting an anti-importation resolution on March 10, 1769. Schoolbooks were among the items specifically banned.²

Robert Bell undoubtedly subscribed wholeheartedly to this movement. He caused to be printed the first American editions of many important works, but his greatest accomplishment was the publication of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. The original publisher of that work, it may be presumed, would want his patrons to know that he was building up local industry, keeping capital at home, and not having his printing done in England or Scotland. This accounts, in all likelihood, for the curious imprint on the first American edition of *Rasselas* in 1768—eight years before *Common Sense* appeared. Bell considered it important for the public to

² For a thorough history of the movement, see A. M. Schlesinger's . . . *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1918. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. LXXXVIII, whole no. 182), pp. 59 f., 116 ff., 126, 129, *et passim*. See also Sparks MSS, Harvard College Library, Vol. LXII (sub-vol. 7): Papers of the Committee of Merchants of Philadelphia, February 6, 1769-December 19, 1769, p. 176, for the list of articles declared non-importable.

know that the little book had been printed in America, and the phrase "Printed for every purchaser" (as in contrast to a subscription publication) has a fine democratic ring to it, as well as an echo of Bell's own eccentricity.

Further evidence of Bell's interest in colonial manufactures is supplied by his folio broadside of 1773: *Observations Relative to the Manufacture of Paper and Printed Books in the Province of Pennsylvania*.

However, Bell's reputation as an American patriot is not above suspicion; indeed, it has been suggested that he was something of a trimmer, and only too ready to take commercial advantage of any wind which appeared favorable. William McCulloch reported to Isaiah Thomas in 1812-1815: "When the British were in Philadelphia, Bell was in their favour: when they departed, he was clamorous against them. If he had any stable, predominant principles in politics, they inclined to the British."³

It is quite clear that Johnson, when he received a copy of *Rasselas* from the Rev. William White, did not recognize any political implications which the book's imprint carried, for in writing on March 4, 1773, to thank White for the book, he declared: "The impression is not magnificent, but it flatters an Authour, because the Printer seems to have expected that it would be scattered among the People." The letter might have been less friendly in tone had Johnson realized that the publisher was appealing to dangerous new ideas which were soon to lead to war and independence, and against which he was to speak out in *Taxation No Tyranny*, in 1775.

ROBERT F. METZDORF

Yale University

The Cancels in Dr. Johnson's "Works" (Oxford, 1825)

The prospectus of the 1825 Oxford edition of Johnson's works announced that one volume a month would be published "until the whole be completed," the first volume to "appear on the First day of November, 1824."¹ When the ninth and last volume appeared (volumes X and XI were added later) it contained some appended directions to the binder and twenty-eight leaves of cancels to be inserted in volumes II and III (con-

³ "William McCulloch's Additions to Thomas' History of Printing," ed. C. S. Brigham, in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., XXXI (1922), 176.

¹ R. W. Chapman, *Cancels* (London, 1930), pp. 66-7.

taining *The Rambler*) except where they might already have been inserted.² The publisher, William Pickering, issued the volumes in boards covered with red cloth, and it is likely, from the existence of sets with the offending leaves still uncanceled, that some purchasers had the individual volumes rebound as they received them. When these purchasers were confronted with the twenty-eight pages of cancels appended to volume IX they were either reluctant to spoil the appearance of their handsome volumes or just didn't care about textual accuracy.

Hence, some sets of volumes II and III contain the uncanceled leaves.³ But in other sets, hitherto unrecorded, all of volume II, and volume III through signature Y, are printed from reset type. In volume III, therefore, one finds reprinted sheets from signatures B through Y, and the original text in the remainder of the volume, except pages 423, 441, 457, and 459 (actually, leaves 423-4, etc.), which are cancels. These cancels in the reprinted sets are from a different setting of type from that used for the same cancelled pages as first prepared for volume III. Hence, one must also distinguish two states of the cancels, a distinction that has hitherto not been made. A different paper is also used for some sheets in *The Rambler* reprint in volumes II and III.⁴

The editor, Francis Walesby, probably took great pains with volumes II and III of the later printing, correcting obvious errors, adding commas liberally, using fewer capital letters, changing spellings to conform with more modern usage ("shew" to "show"), and even improving the spacing of the text. The desire to modernize the text led him, or whoever made the corrections, into at least one grave error. The correction of the eighteenth-century practice of capitalizing nouns was carried out so unimaginatively that the personifications in Johnson's allegories have been stripped of their distinguishing capital letters (cf. *Ramblers* 3, 22, 33, 67, 91, 96, 102, 105—and 44, by Mrs. Carter).

This edition of Johnson's works is of further bibliographical interest. Prof. Allen T. Hazen has called my attention to a number of cancels in volume IV (*Adventurer*, pp. 15, 39, 87, 93, 113, 121, 125, 207 and pos-

² *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

³ Page 339 in vol. III, not listed in the directions to the binder, is also a cancel in four copies I have seen. Two are in the University of Illinois Library, one is owned by Prof. G. B. Evans, and the fourth is that of Prof. R. W. Rogers. Dr. R. W. Chapman records a set with uncanceled leaves.

⁴ This last fact was also called to my attention by Prof. Hazen, to whom I am indebted for much help and advice. A set on large paper at Yale contains the reprinted *Rambler*.

sibly 225); and there is some confusion in the position of the "Advertisement" to the whole edition as well as in that of the "Prefatory Notice to the Lives of the English Poets" in some copies I have seen (the correct position is noted in the directions to the binder). There are at least four different imprints, and the verso of the half titles differs in volumes of the same set. One set I have seen, possibly a defective one, lacks half titles as well as the index in volume IX. Bibliographers more expert than myself may well find material for further study in the edition.

ARTHUR SHERBO

University of Illinois

The Fragment "Virtue" and "The Assemble of Goddes"

STC 24844a and 17005-17007a

The Short Title Catalogue 24844a lists, as an otherwise unknown poem under the heading "Virtue," the Bodleian Douce fragment f.51(1), of two leaves, the first signed diii, in which Virtue and his lieutenant Reason command Macrocosme. The fragment actually consists of lines 1213-1323 of a well-known fifteenth-century poem, *The Assemble of Goddes*. The two leaves of the Douce fragment are identical with d3-4^v of an edition "Emprynted by Richarde Pynson," probably between 1501 and 1530, which is not recorded in the STC, but a copy of which is in the Huntington Library (88195).

The Assemble of Goddes, erroneously attributed to John Lydgate in the earliest printed edition of c. 1498, but anonymous in all the later prints and in the two surviving manuscripts, was edited in 1896 by O. L. Triggs for the Early English Text Society (Extra Series LXIX). Triggs made use of two manuscripts (A and B) and two prints (C and D). I list the manuscripts and all the prints below, designating the first four by the letters used by Triggs.

A. Trinity College Cambridge MS 599, transcribed later than 1463.

B. British Museum MS Royal 18.D.ii, early sixteenth century.

C. (STC 17005) A1^r Hrrre folowyth the Interpretacōn. . . C3^v Thus endeth this lytyll moralized treatyse compiled by dan Iohn Lydgat somtyme monke of Bury | on whose soule god haue mercy. [Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1498]. 16 leaves printed in double columns, A-B⁶ C⁴. C1^v is wrongly signed Cii, and C2 is wrongly signed Ciiij. British Museum G.11587 (lacks C4, probably blank), Morgan Library 737 (lacks C4), Huntington 32073 (lacks A1 B6 and C2-4).

D. (STC 17007) a2^r Here foloweth the Interpretacyon. . . f6^r Here end-

eth a lytyll Tratyse named Le assemble de dyeus [Wynkyn de Worde, *c.* 1500]. 46 leaves, a-e⁸ f⁶. British Museum C.13.a.21, Huntington 31533 (lacks a1, a8, b2, b7 and e1-f6), University of Minnesota Law Library.

E. (STC 17006) a1^r Here foloweth the Interpretacion. . . G4^r Here endeth alytyll Treatyse named The assemble of goddes [Wynkyn de Worde, after 1499]. 42 leaves, a⁸ b-f⁶ G⁴. Cambridge University Library AB.4.58(19); facsimile edited by Francis Jenkinson, 1906.

F. (Not in STC) a2^r Here foloweth the interpretacyon. . . f6^v Emprynted by Richarde Pynson [*c.* 1501-30]. 40 leaves, a-b⁸ c-f⁶. Huntington 88195 (lacks a1, a8 and c1-6), Bodleian Douce frag. f.51(1) (two leaves only, d3-4).

G. (STC 17007a) A1^r Here folowith the Interpretaciō. . . H4^r Here endeth a lytyll treatyse namede the assemble of goddes and goddesses. Imprynted at London in Fletestrete by me Robert Redman. [*c.* 1530-40]. 42 leaves, A⁸ B-H alternately 4 and 6. Huntington 31641.

Triggs assumes that A is substantive, that B is copied from C, and that D "exhibits no notable changes in the text" and "follows most closely MS. A"; but the few and capriciously selected variant readings that he lists (pp. viii-ix) are inadequate for determining the relationships of either the manuscripts or the printed texts. My own conclusions, based on collations of sample passages in the prints only, are that C is the earliest edition, carelessly printed with many errors; that D is a reprint of C, corrected by an intelligent compositor but without recourse to any manuscript (it clearly does *not* derive from A, as Triggs assumes—see lines 256, 337, 587, 607, 648, 966, 974, 981, 1113, 1201); that E and F are independent reprints of D which introduce new errors of their own; and that G is a paginary reprint of E. If this is so, the only print that has any substantive textual authority is C.

The relationships of the manuscripts to the prints is impossible to determine with precision on Triggs's evidence. He apparently assumed that B was copied from C because both omit line 812; but his assumption is based on an error, because C and all the other prints contain line 812. From the partial list of B readings that Triggs provides, B agrees in error with D in fourteen significant passages (lines 104, 210, 235, 607, 648, 673, 721, 966, 970, 974, 981, 1074, 1591, 2103); these agreements indicate that MS B was copied from D, and not from C as Triggs asserts. Triggs further assumes, without proof, that A is substantive; but comparison of his A text with the prints indicates instead that A is most closely allied to C and may be a copy of that print (see especially lines 104, 974, 981). The two manuscripts A and B therefore appear to be merely copies of the prints C and D. If this is valid, the print C is the only substantive

text and should be used as the copy text. Triggs's assumptions concerning the relationships of the texts are demonstrably wrong; my suggestions are tentative only. Evidently a new critical edition of *The Assemblie of Goddesses*, one of the liveliest of late fifteenth-century poems, is needed.

WILLIAM RINGLER

Washington University, St. Louis

Multiple Editions of Lyttelton's "The Court-Secret" (1741)

The Court-Secret, one of the many "oriental essays" so popular in the eighteenth century, has as its theme the amours of the Earl of Scarborough and the Duchess of Manchester—a topic of such consuming interest, apparently, that the pamphlet went through a number of undifferentiated printings. Preceding the "second edition" in 1743, there appeared, in the year before, one which sometimes passes as the first, and, in the year before that, no less than *five* others, all with an identical title page, but each of a different setting in the text. The bibliographical record follows:

Editions A-E First edition published September 24, 1741.

THE | COURT-SECRET: | A | MELANCHOLY TRUTH. | Now first
translated from the | Original ARABIC. | [rule] | By an Adept in the
Oriental Tongues. | [rule] | [2 lines from Massinger] | [double rule] |
LONDON: | Printed for T. COOPER at the *Globe*, in | *Paternoster-Row*.
M DCC XLI. | (Price One Shilling.)

Demy octavo in half-sheets. Size uncut (Illinois copy) 21.8 x 12.8 cm.

A1 B-G⁴ H1. [i] title, 1-50 text.

Copies: A: BM (2); ICU, NN (CK p.v.250).

C: NcD.

B: IU, NN (*KC 1741).

D: Cty, ICN.

E: MH, NjP.

Differentiae:

Page numbers enclosed in	Page 1, central orna- ment in headpiece	Catchwords, page	Press figures
		2 27 39	
A brackets	shell on a pedestal	---The mine, bled	7-2
B parentheses	" "	--The " bled,	none
C "	" "	--The mine "	"
D "	vase with flowers	--The " "	4-3, 30-3
E "	bust on a pedestal	---The " "	none

Though all editions are quite similar in appearance and text, each seems to follow the other in direct succession. Of the five, *A* is the only one on deposit at the copyright library of the British Museum, the one with the most accurate text, the one quoted in the earliest review [*Scots Magazine*, III (1741), 597-603], and the one which in its lavish spread of hyphens would appear to be a more careful production than any of the others.

Edition F

THE | COURT-SECRET: | [&c. as in *A*] ... | *Paternofter-Row*.
MDCCLXII. | (Price Six Pence.)

Post octavo in half-sheets. π 1 A-E⁴ F1. [1] title, 3-43 text, [44] blank.
Copies: BM, CtY.

The readings "*Eb'n Azra*" and "solliciting" (6.5; 9.19) indicate that *A* served as the copytext for this edition. Probably a cut-rate piracy.

Edition G

THE | COURT-SECRET: | [&c. as in *A*] ... [Massinger] | [rule] |
The SECOND EDITION. | [rule] | ... *Globe*, in *Pater-* | *noster-Row*.
MDCCLXIII. | (Price One Shilling.)

Demy octavo in half-sheets. A-F⁴. [1] title, 3-47 text, [48] blank.

Copies: BM, CtY.

The readings "*Ebn Azra*," "Great," and "Manner," in combination (6.10, 13, 18), and the use of 5 dashes after "Moment" and 3 each after "ensued" and "despair" (29.17; 30.12, 15) suggest that *E* is probably the copytext for this edition.

WILLIAM B. TODD

Salem College

Three Eighteenth-Century American Book Contracts

While preparing a comprehensive study of author-printer relations in America before 1820, I have come upon contracts for the publication of three noteworthy works. Since these contracts provide additional data concerning the size of edition, author's compensation, and printing specifications for eighteenth-century American books, they deserve consideration. All are printed without alteration of text from manuscripts in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹

¹ The writer wishes to thank the Massachusetts Historical Society for permission to print these documents. The aid of Dr. Stephen T. Riley, the Librarian, is also gratefully acknowledged.

I

When the first edition of her dictionary of religions, *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects . . .*, was issued in 1784, Hannah Adams received fifty copies from the printers as the only payment for the publication. But as the subscribers had already received their copies, it was difficult to find additional purchasers, and the author had to dispose of her books as best she could. After this experience, Miss Adams exercised greater care when she arranged for the publication of the second edition seven years later. At that time, she wrote to a good many printers and finally decided to accept an offer of one hundred dollars in books for an edition of a thousand copies. When visiting Boston to conclude negotiations, she met the Rev. James Freeman, who offered to assist her in obtaining a more advantageous agreement.² Thus, with his aid, the following contract for *A View of Religions, in Two Parts* (Evans 23102), was signed:

Articles of Agreement made and concluded upon this twenty first day of May, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and ninety one, between Hannah Adams of Medfield, in the County of Suffolk, Single Woman, of the one part, and John W. Folsom of Boston in the said County, Printer, of the other part.

1st. The said Folsom hereby covenants and agrees with the said Adams to print one thousand copies of a Book written by her, entitled "An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Denominations which have appeared in the world from the beginning of the Christian Æra, to the present day," with small pica Types, and a handsome Octavo page, upon as good paper as can be purchased for eighteen shillings a ream, or if the paper shall cost less, the difference in the price to be allowed to the said Adams; and to make use of Greek types, where necessary.

2^d. That the said printing shall be estimated at twelve dollars a sheet, and that the said Folsom shall receive payment and satisfaction for the same in manner herein after mentioned.

3^d. The said Adams hereby authorizes the said Folsom to print as aforesaid one thousand copies of her said Book, and to sell so many of the same to Subscribers, at the rate of six shillings a copy in sheets, six shillings and eight pence a copy in boards, and nine shillings a copy neatly bound and lettered, as will satisfy him for printing said thousand copies at the rate aforementioned, and also for sewing and binding those copies which are delivered by him to the Subscribers, at the rate of eight pence a copy in boards, and three shillings a copy neatly bound and lettered; and to retain in his hands the whole of the said copies, until he shall be so satisfied.

² The information in this paragraph appears in Hannah Adams, *A Memoir of Miss Hannah Adams, Written by Herself* (Boston, 1832), pp. 15-21.

4th. The said Folsom hereby further covenants and agrees with the said Adams not to print more than one thousand copies of the said Book; and to keep an accurate account of all the monies that he shall receive from the sales of any of said copies, subject at all times to the inspection of the said Adams, or of the Rev^d. James Freeman of Boston aforesaid; and that he will, as soon as he shall be satisfied and paid for printing the said thousand copies, at the rate aforesaid, faithfully and without delay, deliver up to the said Adams all the remaining copies that shall have been detained in his hands.

In Witness whereof the said Parties have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first aforewritten.

Executed in presence of

Charles Williams

Jn^o W. Folsom

Nat. Balch jr

Under the revised title of *A View of Religions, in Two Parts*, the second edition was published on October 1, 1791, and offered for sale at ten shillings, bound and lettered.³ Unfortunately, the precise number of subscribers who paid the lower price of nine shillings for bound volumes cannot be determined. Nevertheless, even if one assumes that copies were sold only in sheets at six shillings, some very rough calculations will tend to show that the author did well. The volume is 428 pages, octavo. Printing, therefore, cost about \$324; and, at six shillings to the dollar, the paper (including an allowance of two quires from each ream for spoilage) would have cost about \$186. With a total production cost of about \$510, the edition would have been paid for when approximately half was sold. That this transaction actually made a profit is confirmed by Hannah Adams' statement that "the emolument I derived from it not only placed me in a comfortable situation, but enabled me to pay the debts I had contracted during mine and my sister's illness, and to put out a small sum upon interest."⁴

II

In 1791 Jeremy Belknap completed his plans to publish *The Foresters*, a humorous history of the colonies originally printed in *The Columbian Magazine*. Curiously enough, although Belknap's son, Joseph, and Alexander Young had just opened a printing office in Boston, the new firm did not obtain this job. In a letter to Ebenezer Hazard written in Boston, December 19, 1791, Belknap declared:

I prefer having T. & A. for proprietors, for two reasons: First, they have extensive connections, and can push a sale. Secondly, there will probably be no suspi-

³ *Columbian Centinel*, October 1, 1791, p. 3, col. 3.

⁴ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

cion who the author is, which would infallibly be the case if my son were to stand as proprietor; and I wish to remain *concealed*, if possible.⁵

The Foresters (Evans 24086) was published in May, 1792, and advertised at three shillings nine pence in boards, four shillings six pence bound.⁶ Despite Belknap's precautions, there is no evidence to show that the book sold well at first; a second revised and enlarged edition (Evans 30051) was not published until 1796. Moreover, his friends soon identified the author. However, in evaluating Belknap's reasons for choosing Thomas & Andrews, it must be remembered that the following contract is not restricted to one printing. It disposes of the copyright:

This indenture, made on the twenty eighth day of December in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & ninety one, by & between Jeremy Belknap of Boston in Massachusetts, Clerk, on the one part and Thomas & Andrews of Boston afores^d Printers on the other part witnesseth.

That the s^d Belknap for himself, his heirs & assigns doth sell to the s^d Thomas & Andrews their heirs & assigns the copy right of a book entitled, *The Foresters*, an American Tale being a sequel to the History of John Bull, the Clothier; for so long a time as the Laws of the United States do or shall permit; the s^d Thomas & Andrews their heirs & assigns to be henceforth the sole proprietors of the s^d Book in conformity to the s^d Laws, on the performance of the Covenant & Conditions following—

That is to say—The s^d Thomas & Andrews for themselves, their heirs & assigns do covenant with the s^d Belknap his heirs & assigns that of every edition of the s^d Book which shall be printed by them or by any Person or Persons within the United States, acting by direction, licence or permission derived from them or from their heirs & assigns the s^d Belknap, his heirs & assigns shall receive one third part of the copies of s^d Book in sheets, or the full value of s^d sheets at the whole sale price, to be paid as fast as the Books shall be sold. Provided that the s^d Belknap, his heirs & assigns shall not receive any part of his third part of the first Edition of said Book (excepting six copies only if called for) until there shall be so many copies of s^d Book sold as will pay the amount of the paper on which said first Edition is printed—and if at the Expiration of two years from the first publication of said first Edition, there should not be so many copies sold as will pay the amount of the paper aforesaid, then the s^d Belknap, his heirs & assigns shall pay to the s^d Thomas & Andrews, their heirs & assigns one half the value of the s^d paper, and the said Thomas & Andrews their heirs & assigns shall deliver to s^d Belknap his heirs & assigns one third part of the printed copies which shall then remain unsold in sheets. But whenever so many Copies of said first Edition shall be disposed of as will amount to the value of the paper afore-

⁵ Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections* (Boston, 1877), 5th ser., III, 278.

⁶ *Independent Chronicle*, June 7, 1792, p. 1, col. 2.

said, then the said Thomas & Andrews their heirs & assigns shall pay to s^d Belknap his heirs & assigns the full amount or value of one third part as aforesaid—

And the said Thomas & Andrews for themselves, their heirs & assigns do also farther promise the s^d Belknap his heirs & assigns that they will bona fide inform the said Belknap his heirs & assigns of their intention to print any & every Edition of said Book, and of their permission, licence or direction given to any & every other Person or Persons within the United States to print or reprint the same, with the number of Copies printed or to be printed.

And the s^d Belknap doth promise to revise, alter, amend and improve the said Book when any future Edition shall be called for, as there may be occasion—

In testimony whereof the s^d Parties have hereto set their hands & seals the day & year above written.

Signed sealed & exchanged
in presence of—

Thomas & Andrews

It is mutually understood that
the wholesale price of the
book in sheets is equal to
half the price of the same book
bound

Jeremy Belknap

William Andrews
I. Cazneau

This is to certify that of the first Edition of *the Foresters* &c we have printed & shall print one thousand copies and no more.

Boston March 14, 1792

Thomas & Andrews

III

Two years later, Belknap found himself in a more favorable situation when planning to issue the first volume of his *American Biography*, a book obviously destined for successful sale. This time the author did not need to guarantee part of the price of the paper or sell the copyright. The publisher, on the other hand, was even willing to endorse the author's hundred-pound note in order to secure the following contract for printing one edition:

This Indenture witnesseth an agreement made and mutually exchanged by & between Jeremy Belknap of Boston Clerk on the one part and Thomas & Andrews of Boston aforesaid Printers on the other part viz

1. The said Belknap for the Considerations hereafter named gives & grants to the said Thomas & Andrews the sole right of printing publishing and vending within the United States, *one Edition* of his proposed work entitled

American Biography; each Volume to contain not less than twenty six full sheets of large Demy paper folded in Octavo.

2. The said Thomas & Andrews engage to print the said work at their own risque & expence & to find paper for the same; the paper & type to be to the satisfaction of the said Belknap.
3. The said Thomas & Andrews further engage to print no more copies than shall be mutually agreed upon before the printing of each Volume; the said agreement to be in writing under their respective signatures & mutually exchanged.
4. On the day of the publication of each Volume, the said Thomas & Andrews shall give to said Belknap a promissory Note or Notes in due and legal form for the amount of one fifth part of the retail price of all the Copies of said Volume in blue boards, or one sixth part of the amount of all copies bound. The time of payment to be one year for one Note containing the amount of the said proportion of twelve hundred Copies, and two years for the other note containing the amount of the said proportion of all copies above twelve hundred, & if not paid within that Time then the said Note or Notes to be on Interest, till paid, and payable to said Belknap or his order.—
5. Whatever Sum may be received from Subscribers in advance agreeably [*sic*] to the proposal, said Belknap engages to endorse on said first Note.
6. The said Thomas & Andrews engage to fulfil to all subscribers the Conditions of the proposal, a printed Copy of which is hereto annexed.
7. The said Thomas & Andrews promise to *give* to said Belknap twenty five Copies, in sheets, of each Volume, this Number to be printed over and above the Number stipulated agreeably to the third article of this Indenture.
8. The said Thomas & Andrews promise to endorse a Note for any sum not exceeding one hundred pounds, payable by said Belknap at either of the public banks, and to renew said endorsement, as often as shall be necessary during the Time that said Belknap shall obtain Credit for the same.

In witness whereof the aforesaid Covenanting parties have to this instrument interchangeably set their hands and seals this seventeenth day of October one thousand seven hundred & ninety three—

Signed Sealed & exchanged in presence of us	}	Witnesses to the signing of J. Belknap and	Isaiah Thomas
Sam Butler		E. T. Andrews	Eben ^r T. Andrews
Obadiah Penniman Joshua Thomas Alex ^r Thomas Jun ^r	}		Jeremy Belknap

Boston 20th December 1793. This day in Conformity to the third article of an Indenture signed the seventeenth day of October last by us, for printing an Edi-

tion of the American Biography, we have mutually agreed that the Number of Copies of the first Volume of said work shall be fifteen hundred; & the amount agreeably to the fourth article of said Indenture shall be paid by Thomas & Andrews to Jeremy Belknap as follows—one third in eight months one other third in twelve months & the remaining third in two years from the day of publication.

Witness

Sam. Butler

Thomas & Andrews

Obadiah Penniman

Jeremy Belknap

The first volume of *American Biography* (Evans 26637) was published in February or March, 1794, and advertised at nine shillings in boards, ten shillings six pence bound and lettered.⁷ The second volume (Evans 33393) appeared in July 1798.

ROLLO G. SILVER

Simmons College

⁷ *Columbian Centinel*, March 8, 1794, p. 3, col. 4.

Book Reviews

The Nation, Volumes 1-105, New York, 1865-1917. Indexes of Titles and Contributors. Compiled by Daniel C. Haskell, Bibliographer of the Library (retired). New York, The New York Public Library, 1951, 1953. Volume I, [iv], 577 pp.; Volume II, [iv], 539 pp. 10¼ x 7 inches. \$25.00 per set.

In the varied and complex field called Bibliography, an Index such as we now have before us merits an uncommonly important and dignified place. The product of many years of painstaking effort, this Index to the New York *Nation*, carrying the periodical from its inception in 1865 to the somewhat arbitrary date of 1917, brings to our reference shelves a work of incalculable significance in any study of American culture. The Index consists of two stout volumes printed on the presses of The New York Public Library and handsomely bound in buckram. The compiler, Mr. Daniel C. Haskell, who was long associated with the Library, is the author of numerous bibliographical works, including *A Check List of Cumulative Indexes to Individual Periodicals* (1942). Thus fitted in an exceptional way for the task of preparing an index to the *Nation*, Mr. Haskell applied his bibliographical skill to the identification of the countless anonymous articles, notes, and reviews appearing in the pages of that magazine. The *Nation*, to be sure, had had its indexes,¹ anemic, abortive affairs, covering but part of its early history. Critics and bibliographers have occasionally tapped the official file in the office of the *Nation* for necessary identifications, but in Mr. Haskell's two volumes we have the first consistent attempt to assign to each article its respective author. Volume One presents chronologically, by volume and page, all articles and reviews the authors of which have been identified. Authorship is indicated after the title of each item. Those articles originally signed have been excluded from this volume of the Index. Volume Two, perhaps of more practical value to the average student and scholar, consists of a list of all contributors to the *Nation*, alphabetically arranged. Under the name of each au-

¹ These are *A General Index to the Nation*: Vols. 1-30 (Boston, 1880), Vols. 31-40 (Boston, 1885); and *An Analytical Index to the Political Contents of "The Nation,"* privately printed in an edition of fifty copies in 1883.

thor his contributions are listed chronologically, with the location of each item in terms of volume and page. Both signed and attributed articles are here included.

Much of the scholarship underlying this huge undertaking is necessarily concealed. In his Introduction Mr. Haskell has noted only the major sources of attribution. These sources, which fall into four categories, should be noted for the record.

(1) An annotated file of the *Nation*, with attributions for the more lengthy articles and reviews. This file, in the office of the magazine, was valuable as a point of departure for the bibliographer's more extended investigations.

(2) Two account books kept by Wendell Phillips Garrison, who was at first associate editor and, years later, editor-in-chief of the *Nation*. These cover periods from 1873 to 1881 and from 1901 to 1906, respectively. Here we have a list of authors "with abbreviated catchword titles of their contributions, together with the prices paid." It will be seen that these account books present unfortunate gaps in the records of the magazine as a whole. Mr. Haskell notes that at least three books are missing, and all efforts to find them have proved unavailing.

(3) One volume listing books which were reviewed, with the last name of the reviewer. The period here covered ranges from 1896 to 1906. This volume and the two preceding ones, once owned by Garrison, were presented to The New York Public Library by his nephew, the late Oswald Garrison Villard. Through the courtesy of the Library the writer of this review has examined these interesting records, which, because of their cryptic nature, must have required many hours of patient labor to decipher. These records, not always kept with a system pleasing to a working bibliographer, offer numerous perplexing problems. Two folders containing the loose leaves of what was once another record book are also preserved with the materials just described. These leaves represent a period from 1895 to 1906, covering the same years (with the addition of one) as the other review volume, but for the most part containing entries not included in this volume.

(4) Countless bibliographies, biographies, and reference works. The extent of this material is impossible for this reviewer even to begin to estimate, since, owing to the vast number of identifications, evidence for each attribution could not be given. Only occasionally, where attributions remain in question, does the compiler note a bibliography or some other work of reference which he consulted. One commends the compiler's caution in accepting doubtful attributions found in certain reference books,

and his tact in rejecting works of this nature. Belonging to this group of miscellaneous sources should be noted a small file of letters addressed to Mr. Garrison by prospective contributors or by contributors. One fact revealed by a rapid survey of this file is that those who wished to review certain books for the *Nation* often made such requests of Mr. Garrison.

The amazing story of the *Nation* may be read in Gustav Pollak's *Fifty Years of American Idealism: The New York Nation, 1865-1915* (1915) or more briefly in Frank L. Mott's *History of American Magazines*, with additional commentary furnished by Rollo Ogden's biography of the founder and first editor of the *Nation*, Edwin Lawrence Godkin. No American editor has ever excelled Godkin in the wisdom and foresight with which he enlisted, not necessarily the most popular writers of his day, but those most enlightened and possessed of accurate knowledge as well as literary ability. One need not dwell on the vacuity of periodical journalism in America preceding the Civil War. Only the *Literary World* (1847-1853), edited by the brothers Duyckinck, had begun to approach the New York *Nation* in the scope and literary quality of its contributions, but the *World* never pretended to a grasp of social or political subjects. Keeping clearly before him as standards such London periodicals as the *Spectator* and the *Saturday Review*, Godkin sought to create both a journal of opinion and a medium for intelligent literary and cultural criticism. The wisdom which Godkin exercised, while he was editor, in his choice of contributors is revealed in the first volume of Mr. Haskell's Index. But now for the first time we may study, through the Index, Godkin's own contributions to the *Nation*. For the period of his editorship from 1865 to 1881, a rough count yields some 626 items. In 1881 Godkin sold the *Nation* to the *Post*, and to this newspaper the *Nation* for the next thirty-three years served as a weekly supplement. Wendell Phillips Garrison now became editor-in-chief, while Godkin, until shortly before his death in 1902, acted as an advisor to the editor. Yet in this capacity, over a span of about twenty years, Godkin penned approximately 1065 more articles. His writing for the *Nation* from 1865 to 1901 concerned mainly questions of national and foreign politics, a subject of which he had made himself master. In 1895 he collected a small portion of these writings under the title, *Reflections and Comments, 1865-1895*.

The *Nation* arose in part out of the smouldering embers of literary and social enthusiasms of a past generation. One of Godkin's earliest supporters, Charles Eliot Norton, who the Index shows was a frequent writer for the *Nation*, reviewed sympathetically the 1867 edition of Emerson's poems, and defended Longfellow's translation of Dante against some of

its critics. The elder Henry James, a friend of Emerson, was allowed thrice to discourse on his favorite subject of Swedenborg; while Octavius Brooks Frothingham, the historian of New England transcendentalism, reviewed several books on religious topics. Six poems and prose items by Lowell, listed in the Index, are unrecorded in Cooke's bibliography of that author. Lowell was himself an enthusiastic reader of the *Nation*. Every Friday when the magazine arrived, he filled his pipe and read the pages "from beginning to end." Emerson, too, was delighted with "its breadth, its variety, its self-sustainment, its admirable style of thought and expression."

But Godkin did not found the *Nation* with the purpose of toadying to authors whose vital work had already been done. Eschewing for the most part the conservative in social and political opinion, he sought, as a liberal, to create a journal that would not only adhere to strict democratic principles but would interpret with democratic insight the social, political and economic issues of the day. Thus the Index becomes at once a key to the problems that were perpetually besetting the Gilded Age. The first of these, inherited in part from an earlier era, was the emancipated slave. At the inception of the *Nation* the associate editor was Wendell Phillips Garrison, a son of William Lloyd Garrison, who had edited the *Liberator*. The prospectus to the new magazine clearly defined its attitude toward the Negro among the coming problems of Reconstruction. The entire country must acknowledge the importance of the rehabilitation and elevation of the Colored population. An examination of the early pages of the Index (Volume I) brings clearly before us the significance which the plight of the Negro assumed in the eyes of the editors. We note that Godkin himself in the first issue wrote on "The Essence of the Reconstruction Question." Reference to the article reveals Godkin's frank objection to the President's policy of "leaving the 'negro question' still unsettled." More outspoken is the declaration of anxiety lest the aristocracy of the South be perpetuated. "The notion is very prevalent and is very earnestly preached," Godkin asserts, "that with the destruction of slavery all danger of the re-establishment or perpetuation of an aristocratic class at the South has passed away. This is a most mischievous delusion." A letter contributed to the second issue by Francis Lieber (he made three contributions in all) argued that the South had failed to sustain any serious financial loss with the enforced emancipation of the slaves. One must recognize, of course, that Mr. Haskell's attempts to identify authorship leave some annoying gaps; one would like to know who penned the brief article, "Some Reasons for Delay," in which the unidentified author notes the fact, ac-

knowledgeed, he says, even by those "best satisfied with the course things are taking at the South," that "the condition of the society there is something very nearly chaotic." To be sure, the *Nation* had inherited something of the evangelical fervor of the *Liberator*.

In seeking to solve the problems of Reconstruction, the *Nation* groped its way with the uncertainty of the nation at large. If the editors felt at first that, since Grant had not been a professional politician, he might be trusted as a reformer, the experience of the *Nation* regarding Grant's presidential promise turned out to be that of a liberal and enlightened citizenry. A study of Godkin's "bibliography" as presented in the Index shows that he continually kept his sensitive fingers on the pulse of American politics. The *Nation* stoutly supported civil service and fought Tammany, but in the dispute between capital and labor, it sided, in the days of Godkin, mainly with the former. Over the period covered by the Index, the editors of the *Nation*, in presenting the varied aspects of American politics, engaged the literary aid of such writers as Horace White, Carl Schurz, Rollo Ogden and Francis Ellington Leupp, to note but a few distinguished commentators. Important are the many articles written by Simeon Strunsky interpreting earlier phases of the First World War. The editors of the *Nation* kept their readers amply informed of current events abroad through such capable correspondents as James Bryce, James F. Muirhead, Sir Leslie Stephen, and Auguste Laugel.

The reader of this review must pardon its curtailment of the social and political trends of the *Nation* for which the magazine must, in the final analysis, stand pre-eminent. The present telescoping of these major trends has been done with less compunction because of the richness of the literary, critical, and scholarly areas, often neglected in estimating the overall significance of the *Nation*. Although the prospectus of the journal had underlined the application to American life of sound democratic principles, it had likewise declared as an essential function the criticism of books and art. And in the first issue Charles Astor Bristed sought to formulate the editorial principles of the *Nation* as they relate to criticism. Seeking "to promote and develop a higher standard of criticism," the *Nation* was to adopt a mode of criticism which Bristed called "eclectic." He explained:

In political difficulties the boldest course is sometimes the most prudent, and nothing short of "thorough" will carry us through; but in questions of taste it is always wise to keep clear of extremes, for taste is eminently eclectic.

If this "eclectic" principle of criticism suggests timidity, the supposition is scarcely borne out by the specimens of reviews presented in the opening

issue. True, the first volume of R. G. White's edition of Shakespeare as reviewed by C. E. Norton may bear evidences of a lack of critical independence, but the reviews of Carlyle's Frederick II and Henry Kingsley's *The Hillyars and the Burtons* strip the last thread of literary virtue from these works. The authors of the last two reviews were Henry James, father and son, respectively. As time went on, the audience addressed by the *Nation* failed often to approve the tone of intellectual superiority which they felt informed so many of its reviews. Henry Adams, never an ardent reformer, noted cynically in his *Education* "the elevated plateau of the New Jerusalem occupied by Godkin and the *Nation*." Yet the *Dial*, itself distinguished for the quality of its book reviews, observed that literary criticism in America under the guidance of the *Nation* had become almost a new art.

But the mere declaration of a critical policy in book reviewing means little unless implemented by the editor's intelligent selection of reviewers, to whom he can give complete critical freedom in appraising an assigned book. Godkin and his associates exercised wisely this necessary critical discretion, and the result made the *Nation*, during the Gilded Age, America's outstanding medium for reviewing. Godkin's first important literary "find" was Henry James, Jr. In the "Semicentennial number" of the *Nation* (1915), for which many earlier contributors wrote their recollections, James in his article of reminiscences retreated impressionistically into the past. Charles E. Norton, it appears, first informed young James of the *Nation*, then in its embryonic stage. Soon Godkin paid him a visit at his Boston "domicile" (the word is James's) in Ashburton Place to ask him to write for the new magazine. James continues through the mist of years: "I measure the spread as that of half a century. . . . it can only rest with us to write down the fifty years I speak of, in the very largest letters, as the Age of the Mistake." If there is at least the ghost of a pose lurking in the latter assertion (is it the same weakness to which another Henry earlier in the same century had yielded as he wrote his *Education*?), the intimation of fifty years' service to the *Nation* is strictly inaccurate, as our Index bears witness. James's service may be measured by a span of about fifteen years, with a final curtain call in 1915, less than a year before his death. Yet the literary product of those years was not without its distinction. As enumerated in LeRoy Phillips' bibliography of James (1930), these contributions to the *Nation* lose much of their impressiveness by being mingled chronologically with his other writings for the same years. Listed as a single group in the Index, the 220 contributions, consisting

not simply of reviews but of travel sketches and at least one article of social and political import, becomes worthy the study of any scholar interested in James's early writings or his "journalistic" career. The essays of the sixties, thirty-seven in number, represent significant apprentice work often embodying ideas that were later to take their place in James's permanent critical apparatus. Consider this passage extracted from his first review already mentioned—indeed an "important" article," which James fifty years later remembered having contributed "in my innocence . . . to the first number of the enterprise."

. . . Another unfailing resource of Mr. Henry Kingsley is his intimate acquaintance with Australian life. This fact is evidently in his opinion, by itself, almost a sufficient outfit for a novelist. It is one of those rudimentary truths which cannot be too often repeated, that to write a novel it is not necessary to have been a traveller, an adventurer, a sight-seer; it is simply necessary to be an artist. Mr. Kingsley's descriptions of Australia are very pretty; but they are not half so good as those of Mr. Charles Reade, who, as far as we know, has never visited the country. We mean that they do not give the reader that vivid impression of a particular place which the genius of Mr. Reade contrives to produce. Mr. Reade went to Australia—that is, his imagination went—on purpose to compose certain chapters in "Never Too Late to Mend." Mr. Kingsley went in the flesh; but Mr. Kingsley in the flesh is not equal to Mr. Reade in the spirit.

After all, Phillips, who had access to much of the same source material that Haskell used, and who did a relatively thorough bibliographic job on James, caught most of these fugitive items. Yet Haskell has added six essays not recorded by Phillips or noted elsewhere as the work of James: (1) "The Labor Campaign" (11:132-133), an unusual Jamesian item demonstrating the author's hostility to trade unions, which "take from the employer all control over the processes of his business"; (2) a review of Hare's *Days Near Rome* (20:229); (3) a review of *Personal Reminiscences of Moore and Jerdan* (20:229); (4) notes on Veronese and Millet (20:410); (5) notes on the portraits of Frank Duveneck (21:165-166); and (6) a review of Zola's *Une page d'amour* (26:361-362). Haskell also restores the review of Baudelaire's *Fleurs de mal* (22:279-281), reprinted in James's *French Poets and Novelists* (1878), but by some mischance omitted by Phillips. (This is the essay with the famous pronouncement: "An enthusiasm for Poe is the mark of a decidedly primitive stage of reflection.") Haskell also discovered the error made by the editor of James's *Notes and Reviews* (1921) in including "A French Critic" (1:468-469), a note on Edmund Schérer's works, also credited to

James by Phillips. The note rightfully belongs to Henry James, Senior.² As James looked back upon his fifteen years with the *Nation*, he recorded his relation with Godkin as "one of the best of my life"—a significant observation viewed in the light of his unfortunate association with White-law Reid of the New York *Tribune*.

Another early "find" of equal importance with James was William Dean Howells, who made his début in the *Nation* a few weeks after James. This contribution was a travel sketch, "A Day in Pompeii," followed by other articles on Italy, from which Howells had recently returned. These Italian sketches were later incorporated in Howells' *Italian Journeys* (1867). For a time Howells was in the employ of Godkin, for whom he also wrote book reviews and commentaries on current events. But a year before he finished writing for the *Nation* (1867), he had already been drawn to Cambridge by the *Atlantic Monthly*, and he renewed his relation with the *Nation* only once in later years. Mr. Haskell added nothing to the record of Howells items in Gibson and Arms' exhaustive bibliography of the author, published by The New York Public Library in 1948.

The increasing significance which critics are now attaching to the novels of John W. De Forest gives unusual interest to the four entries which appear under his name in the Index. In an essay, "The Great American Novel," De Forest reviews the reasons why we must yet await the great novel embodying the American spirit. More significant in a social and democratic way is De Forest's essay entitled "Two Girls," a critical analysis of the young American woman of the late sixties. "Yes," he asserts, "the American girl's profusion is only a part of the national profusion; it is only one of the various ways in which democracy seeks to level upward; it is mediocrity striving to be as fine as wealth." This is a social situation which to De Forest points in but one direction. The American girl must literally pay the cost of her extravagance—she must go to work! To those fascinated by the complex Victorian spirit of the American poet, Edward Rowland Sill, his ten essays in the *Nation*, now we believe for the first time identified, should prove enlightening.

As one scans the distinguished list of writers for the *Nation*, he meets with no surprise the Adams family. Brooks Adams contributed but one essay, on "The Kimpton Case," but Charles Francis ran the usual gamut from his pet subject of railroads to his equally prolific hobby of American history. The identification of Henry Adams' contributions offers a special

² I am much indebted to Mr. Dan Laurence of Hofstra College for numerous helpful suggestions relating to the contributions of the James family to the *Nation*. Mr. Laurence is compiling a bibliography of Henry James.

problem. Writing in March of 1870 to a friend in England, Adams remarked, "I write about two articles a month in the *Nation*" (*Letters of Henry Adams, 1858-1891* [1930], p. 181). And Ernest Samuels in *The Young Henry Adams* (1948) avers that "there is no longer reason for regarding his assertion with suspicion." Yet neither Samuels nor Haskell in his bibliographical findings supports Adams' assertion. Samuels credits Adams with eight items; Haskell with seven. But more confusing is the fact that the two lists are markedly different. Samuels assigns Adams four essays (and quotes from them at length in the text of the biography) dealing with political life in Washington, but presents no objective evidence for their identity. Haskell has wisely omitted these from his Adams entries. We are willing to concede, however, that in later life (as Samuels suggests) Adams sought to suppress all evidence regarding what he may have felt was the immature writing of his early manhood. In any case, in *The Education* he was to speak rather cavalierly of Godkin and the *Nation*, observing that "he [Adams] was aware that he should find there only the same circle of readers that he reached in the *North American Review*." This observation the present reviewer believes untrue.

John S. Clark in his *Life and Letters of John Fiske* notes but one of twenty articles in the *Nation* attributed to Fiske—that "with special reference to advancing the candidacy of Professor Gurney" as president of Harvard. A large portion of Fiske's writings for the *Nation* was concerned with evolution; he made no historical contributions. To another noted historian, however—Francis Parkman—are assigned twenty-odd reviews and articles devoted mainly to Canada. Moncure Conway used the *Nation* for the presentation of important biographical facts on Thomas Paine. Some of these contributions appeared prior to the publication of Conway's life of Paine; several letters of Paine, unpublished in the biography and edited by Conway, later found their way into the pages of the magazine.

Philosophy, psychology, and other subjects of scientific interest were represented in the *Nation* usually through reviews of books on those subjects. Godkin and Garrison's leaning toward scholars and other writers with Harvard affiliations (Garrison himself was a Harvard man) may be readily observed in a careful scrutiny of the Index. Charles Sanders Peirce, sometimes regarded as the founder of the school of pragmatism, wrote for the *Nation* nearly 250 reviews of abstruse works on philosophy and mathematics. The work of Josiah Joyce and Hugo Münsterberg bulks less large in the pages of the periodical. But the contribution of William James to the *Nation*, chiefly again in the form of reviews, commands greater attention. Four items, not recorded in Ralph Barton Perry's bib-

liography of William James, are included among his contributions in the Index. The first two, reviews published in the *Nation* for 1868, had been attributed by LeRoy Phillips to Henry James, who seems only to have given them stylistic revision. Thus we may observe the numerous types of bibliographical problems that beset Mr. Haskell. Asa Gray, the distinguished botanist and defender of Darwin, is represented in the *Nation* by some eighty items, largely reviews of books on the author's favorite subjects. Miscellaneous writings on scientific topics dominate the "bibliographies" of Alexander Agassiz (son of a more famous scientist and professor at Harvard), George L. Goodale, and Charles W. Beebe.

The original prospectus of the *Nation* had promised that the periodical would concern itself with art. Over the course of the fifty-two years covered by the Index books on art and architecture became frequent subjects of review; and occasionally an article on these cultural areas helped to give variety to the contents of the magazine. Joseph Pennell furnished a few articles of this sort, while Mrs. Pennell from 1888 to 1917 reported with astonishing regularity on the state of art in England and occasionally in Paris. Both the varied articles of Frank Jewett Mather and the book reviews of Kenyon Cox should not be overlooked in estimating the quality of the art criticism in the *Nation*. Nor should we forget the reviews of architectural works written by such a noteworthy practitioner of the art as Russell Sturgis. William James Stillman, artist, traveler, and friend of Emerson, deserves mention for his variety of articles and reviews, for the most part hitherto unidentified. The author of the sketch of Stillman in the *Dictionary of American Biography* regrets that some years ago he did not have before him the Index to the *Nation* when he prepared the article on this writer. From 1877 to the terminal date for the Index Henry T. Finck wrote regularly for the *Nation* on a large variety of musical topics.

In our day no magazine or journal in America can compare with the *Nation* of this era in the number of intellectual fields represented and in the quality of the contributions. To the subjects already briefly noted we may now add printing, bibliography, and library science. Books often of a technical and scholarly nature were reviewed by Theodore De Vinne, Luther S. Livingston, and Charles A. Cutter. Thorwald Solberg, for many years register of copyrights at the Library of Congress, contributed generously notes and articles on the subject of copyright, of which during his lifetime he was unquestionably the outstanding authority. One is pleased to record the names of three former colleagues of Mr. Haskell at The New York Public Library—all distinguished librarians and scholars—as writers for the *Nation*: Wilberforce Eames, Victor Hugo Paltsits, and

Frank Weitenkamp. Another writer for the *Nation*, also an associate of Mr. Haskell, was Edmund Lester Pearson, the author of several delightful volumes on book collecting.

The *Nation*, of course, had its professional reviewers. Without these no magazine could hope to cover the extraordinary number of publications with which the *Nation* sought to acquaint its public. Some of these reviewers the reader has doubtless recognized in the roster of contributors already presented; others include Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Francis Allen, William Crary Brownell (at one time an assistant editor of the *Nation*), and finally the mysterious "Miss R. Wilson." Yet the enumeration of reviewers should also have revealed the fact that no other American magazine seeking to cover a broad and varied territory has ever employed so many "specialists" to review books. Let us for the moment call college professors specialists; the designation is helpful if we also note that professors are sometimes specialists—and sometimes super-specialists. Both groups were welcome contributors to the *Nation*. It is significant in understanding the editorial policy of the periodical to keep in mind that the editorship of the *Nation* from 1909 to 1914 was in the hands of a man of academic training—a professor of Sanskrit and of the classics at Harvard and Bryn Mawr. Paul Elmer More, who was a specialist with a flair for journalism, "taught his reviewers," so Stuart P. Sherman once declared, "to fear nothing but deviations from the truth and the insidious vices of puffery and log-rolling." More's literary contribution to the *Nation* has been heretofore virtually unknown. In the bibliography of More's work compiled by Malcolm Young (1941) only approximately fifty essays and reviews in the *Nation* are listed. Nor does Mr. Young regard this number as a mere sampling of More's magazine writings; in speaking of his editorial associations with several magazines Young remarks that "All known appearances of Mr. More's essays have been listed"; and since some reviews are included in the bibliography we must infer that Young classified reviews as essays. Mr. Haskell records about 420 contributions for More. Naturally many of these were later incorporated in the various series of the *Shelburne Essays*, but one believes that this body of work may stand in need of a fresh critical appraisal. More's "humanistic" brethren, Irving Babbitt and Stuart P. Sherman, also found a happy medium of expression in the *Nation*. Only a handful of the 120 items ascribed to George E. Woodberry in the Index are mentioned in his bibliography by R. R. Hawkins (1930). Emory Holloway contributed four items on Whitman which anticipated Holloway's biography of the poet published in 1926.

Our contemporary periodicals which are devoted almost exclusively to

book reviewing are becoming increasingly indifferent to covering books of an erudite or academic nature. One feels little inclination to find fault with such an editorial policy when the costs of printing run high, and one should perhaps inevitably look to the so-called scholarly journal for reviews of books which have a limited audience. But this writer still looks with indulgent favor upon the effort of the *Nation*, over a long period of years, to bring to the attention of its public books of which it could not be expected otherwise to know. This editorial latitude may be suggested by listing a few of the names of college professors—now the super-specialists—whom the *Nation* called upon to report on books belonging to a scholarly or academic category: George Lyman Kittredge, Lane Cooper, Albert S. Cook, and Paul Shorey. One regrets that Mr. Haskell failed to examine the *Festschrift* for Carleton Brown published in 1940. Here our bibliographer would have discovered the titles of two additional reviews by Professor Brown. Mr. Haskell lists but one signed contribution. The *Nation* kept its readers informed, with fair regularity, of the meetings of the Modern Language Association; the assembly for 1905 was reported by Charles H. Grandgent.

A few matters touching the Index have troubled this reviewer. Somehow one feels that this important reference work should have been provided with a more comprehensive Introduction, giving essential details in the story of the editorship of the *Nation* and highlighting those political, social, and cultural trends which dominated the Gilded Age and to which the magazine and its Index provide so rich a guide. If the writer of the Introduction had desired to pass beyond essential matters, he might have presented a brief study of the prices paid by the *Nation* to writers of articles and to reviewers, and have given other bits of information that his sources yielded regarding the relation of contributor to editor. One fears that much significant data of this sort have been lost through the compiler's failure to record details that came to his attention. The Index concludes at a dramatic moment in the history of the *Nation*. Though a conservative, the present reviewer has sufficient intellectual curiosity to wish that the Index had followed the *Nation* in its turn to the left—through America's participation in the First World War and perhaps a few years beyond when the *Nation* entered the field of international politics. It is true that such an extension would have required additional time and money, as would the making of a subject index, a desideratum not likely in the immediate future to be consummated. Devoutly as the scholar may wish for a complete and final identification of all contributions to the *Nation*, he must, perhaps for all time, rest content with the present approximation to

the absolute. The gaps already noted in the series of source books which furnished Mr. Haskell much of his essential information, leave the record at moments necessarily spotty and disappointing. But for this the editors of the *Nation* were themselves to blame. For who would not question the wisdom of an editorial policy which insisted upon anonymity from its contributors?

In fact, the most serious danger of such an editorial course is that, as the years go on, a magazine thus restricted will pass into virtual oblivion. Fortunately this Index has given a great magazine new life; has, indeed, recreated the *Nation* for future students of American culture.

NELSON F. ADKINS

New York University

SCHNEIDER, GEORG. *Die Schlüsselliteratur*. Band III. *Entschlüsselung ausländischer Romane und Dramen*. Stuttgart, Hiersemann Verlag, 1953. x, 189 pp. 9½ x 6½ inches.

Volume III of Dr. Schneider's exhaustive bibliography of key-literature (the first two volumes were reviewed in the Second Quarter PAPERS) considers 189 authors and 700 works, including plays as well as novels. Ninety-six authors are German, twelve Scandinavian, and a sprinkling of seventeen are Dutch, Italian, Roumanian, Russian, Spanish, and "Antike." Forty-six are English, and eighteen "auf Amerika." These latter entries are full of pitfalls. Dr. Schneider's difficulties in transcribing English names and titles, severe in the first two volumes, have become acute in this one. We meet new writers like John Fielding, David Herbert Lorenz, George Elliot, and the androgynous Mary Augusta Humphry Ward, author of *Fernwicks Carreer* and *Sir George Tressedy*; unfamiliar personages such as Dr. Rusey (Pusey), Clemens Scott, John Lothrop Mothley, and Sir Almost (!) Wright; new characters in fiction, including Sir Willoughby Patterne, Redgauntled (four times), Ribgy, Mr. Feathernets, Derrydoon, Major Dobbie, Barry Lindon, Phileas Finn, Blazes Doylan, and Jathro Bass (in *Conisten*). Besides *Conisten*, we have *Mr. Crewes Carreer*, *Dr. Klaudius*, *The Praerie*, *Tongo Bungay*, *The Human Bondage*, *The Pointed Veil*, *The Devil on Two Sticks*, *The Journal of Arthur Stelling*, *Bleackhouse*, and the abrupt *Across the River and Into the Tree*. In the section on Dickens occur Charles Darnley (Darnay), *House Hold Words*, and the murderess in black satin, Mrs. Minning (Manning).

Charlotte Brontë's most important *roman à clef*, *Villette*, is not men-

tioned. Mme. Héger, of the Pensionnat Héger, whom Charlotte, in Clement Shorter's phrase, "gibbeted for all time in the character of Madame Beck" would feel relieved, but one rather misses Paul Emanuel, whose original, M. Héger, bulked so large in Charlotte's life. Marie Colombier's *Le Pistolet de la petite baronne* (1883) is listed, but not *Sarah Barnum*, a vicious attack on Sarah Bernhardt which Sarah repaid with a horse-whipping. However, the recently much publicized *Schauspielern*, Ellen Lawless Ternan, is present. In the long section devoted to Proust, one reads "Im ideal verklärten Vinteuil, dem Musik also höchste geistige Offenbarung gilt, will man den impressionistischen Wagnergegner Debussy oder einen Vater der modernen Musik, den Wallonen César Franck erkennen." Oder Camille Saint-Saëns.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

SLOCUM, JOHN J., and HERBERT CAHOON. *A Bibliography of James Joyce* [1882-1941]. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953. x, 196 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches. \$6.00. London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1953. 8 x 5 inches. 42s.

After ten years in preparation, John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon's *Bibliography of James Joyce* makes its appearance on both sides of the Atlantic: under the Yale imprint in this country, and as Rupert Hart-Davis's "Soho Bibliographies V" in England. This exhaustive and comprehensive volume cannot fail to delight, not only Joyce specialists, but collectors and librarians of modern literature. To the extent that the compilers have carried their task, this publication is a monument of painstaking scholarship—an ideal collaboration of literary detective work, ravenous collecting of books, manuscripts, and data, and of careful classification and organization.

Although the bibliography is based on Mr. Slocum's peerless Joyce collection, now in the Yale Library, it is far more extensive with: (a) full bibliographical descriptions of all first editions of books and pamphlets by Joyce, and of *Two Essays* (containing "The Day of the Rabblement"); (b) shorter descriptions of books and pamphlets with Joyce contributions; (c) contributions by Joyce to periodicals and newspapers (many anonymous and now first identified); (d) translations into eighteen languages, including Urdu; (e) a long and exciting section on Joyce manuscripts; (f) another on musical settings to Joyce (even his prose); (g) a miscellany section which gives recordings, radio broadcasts, a note on Joyce letters, a list of Joyce's early reading, the productions of *Exiles*, and a de-

scription of Joyceana in the National Library of Ireland; and, finally, a useful index.

No copy has yet been found of *Et Tu, Healy!*, but we have now been given a stanza (p. 3) from this childhood broadside. The compilers regret the incompleteness of the list of translations, and also promise a later check list of thousands of items of biography and criticism, in addition to a detailed chronology of the great Irish author's life.¹

In quietly correcting Alan Parker and other previous bibliographers of Joyce, Mr. Slocum and Mr. Cahoon have superseded such earlier research except for critical material. They omit minor items—portraits, printings in Braille, and current research in progress—and may well have had more illustrations of title-pages: only two are included (*Chamber Music*, 1907, p. 7; and *Two Essays*, 1901, p. 73) and a manuscript page of *The Holy Office*, p. 151. There are three trifling errors: Joyce's letters to Larbaud have not disappeared (p. 176) but are in the Vichy Municipal Library; the *Chamber Music* manuscript on vellum is not in the Lockwood Memorial Library (p. 133) but still belongs to Mrs. Joyce;² and the "undiscoverable" Penrith pamphlet (p. 145) used for *Finnegans Wake* has now been discovered³—a remarkable record for a work of such magnitude.

As bibliographically complex a writer as Joyce needs interpretation, and we can get no better introduction to these problems than in this clearly presented, easy-to-follow guide which traces *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* and the other works through a world which must often seem as mad as Alice's underground. Furthermore, much of the nonsense that sometimes accompanies Joyce has been avoided. Highlighted by the fascinating section on the manuscripts and the opening one on the strange publishing history of each item, this *Bibliography of James Joyce* by the Tuxedo Park collector and the New York librarian will unquestionably remain definitive. Wildly to paraphrase the Joycean poem, we might say that the Dubliner may have wept over Rahoon; neither Mr. Slocum nor shall we weep over Cahoon. We await with anticipation their compilation of the biographical and critical writings about one of the century's literary masters.

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne University

¹ "A Note on Joyce Biography," by John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon, *The Yale University Library Gazette*, XXVIII (July, 1953), 44-50, partly offsets this omission.

² These slips were first noticed in Professor William Y. Tindall's "All These Were by Joyce," *New York Times Book Review*, June 28, 1953, pp. 12-13.

³ The details are set forth by Professor Joseph Prescott in a forthcoming article.

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